

Rec'd 29th Dec.

The
Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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News of the Week.

NOTWITHSTANDING the signs of embarrassment which preceded the opening of the session, Ministers have succeeded in taking up a better position than any Government has occupied for a long time. The anticipated difficulties were considerable: Ministers were committed to a Reform Bill, by their own voluntary pledges at a time when Reform itself, however popular in the main idea, would be an entangling trouble; they were suspected of anti-national conduct—un-English backwardness in the East; and they were supposed to have connived at the unconstitutional encroachment of the Prince Consort on the authority and functions of the Executive. Differences had existed in the Cabinet, and it was averred that Lord Aberdeen, absolutely repugnant to undertaking the responsibility of war, would as long as possible subject the honour of the country to sacrifices in favour of peace, and would then abandon his post. The very ceremony of opening Parliament was threatened with a kind of disturbance unprecedented in the present reign.

The last prognostic was not altogether wanting in fulfilment. The crowd gathering to witness the progress of the Queen to Parliament was immense, and it presented all the characteristics of an English mob. There were in the balconies, and in a line along the streets, crowds of well-dressed people, whose manners showed comfortable life and education; but there was also lining the streets a dense mass of Londoners, some of them stunted in stature, too large a proportion squalid in condition, suspicious in eye, rude, and undisciplined. The Queen and her Consort approached in state; their path kept by soldiery, and the carriages surrounded by household officers in the sumptuous costume calculated to impress the English mob with the most material signs of the luxury and power that reign at Court. The Queen appeared unaltered in aspect; the Prince, it was generally observed, looked a little paler than usual, and on his guard. The cheers were more partial than the Queen has been accustomed to hear; and under the cheers, occasionally interrupting the friendly sound, there was something between a murmur and a hiss. It did not come out; as if the discontented only tried the effect of their own voices, waiting to see who would answer. An Ambassador occasionally dashed by, before the Queen came; the Russian,

luckily for him, unrecognised; the Turk recognised at once by the costume of himself and his suite, and cheered with the heartiest cry that English lungs can throw forth.

Within the House of Lords of course all was magnificence and order; save in the rush of the Commons, who showed their loyalty by tumbling in like school-boys. From this point the proceedings became more unequivocally unsatisfactory. The Speech which the Queen received from the Lord Chancellor, suited to her clear and emphatic utterance, was succinct, plain, and business-like, though still keeping to the vague and stunted language which is the set fashion of such documents. It announces a state of war between Turkey and Russia, the failure of the endeavours to restore peace, and the desire of the Queen for an augmentation of her arms in order to support her representations as to the necessity of peace. This meagre statement of the Speech, however, was followed up by explanations on the part of Ministers which are complete. Lord Clarendon, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord John Russell collectively supplied the explanation, and the published despatches support their statements.

It seems that the account we have had through the French press is in the main substantially correct; the Governments of France and England throughout, and still, acting together as one Cabinet. Every effort has been made to facilitate Russia in retreating from her hostile attitude; but Ministers do not conceal that they expect no success in their continued endeavours for peace. Having learned to distrust the word of Russia, they do not lose time because Russia still "negotiates," but are actively preparing for war. Indeed, Russia may be said now to have ceased to negotiate; after demanding a categorical reply to questions respecting the attitude of the allied fleet in the Black Sea, the Russian Ministers in Paris and London have received their reply, which of course informs them that the attitude of that fleet is not purely neutral; and the Russian ambassador at St. James's, breaking off diplomatic relations with the British Court on Thursday, was to leave London to-day, simultaneously with his colleague in Paris.

We are, therefore, *formally* in a hostile attitude, and by this time we must be practically at war. The English fleets have received two sets of orders, one enjoining them to defend Turkish vessels and territory from aggression, and the other giving more peremptory directions in case Russian vessels

should be encountered. It has been officially announced at St. Petersburg that the Russian Admiral was prevented from attacking Trebizond only by the weather. The Russians, therefore, are to attempt that which the joint fleet is to prevent by force of arms; a state of intention on either side which implies the necessity of speedy collision.

In the meanwhile the most energetic preparations are made in all quarters to increase the strength of our forces, afloat and ashore. The enlistment of coast-guard volunteers, and the construction of fortifications, are pushed with vigour; while high wages and pressing orders keep the dockyard hands in full work. The English fleet in the Tagus is ordered to the commanding position of the Nore. Thought even has been turned to the arming of the commercial steam-ships; pronounced, however, to be only fit for use as armed troop-ships. In short, Ministers are preparing, at home and on important stations abroad, for action.

The position of Austria becomes critical. Lord John Russell explained how Ministers stand towards that power. She has already, with Prussia, joined in the declaration of the Four Powers, that the present war in the East ought not to alter the territorial relations of Russia and Turkey; and diplomacy regards this statement as a gain, though of course it will be superseded by altered circumstances. Lord John hopes that Austria may see her own interest in acting with the European powers, by which she would prevent war from being introduced into the heart of Europe. A distinguished capitalist, who deals with states, lately observed that "Austria will side with the strongest;" and if we slightly correct that statement, and say that Austria will side with that power which *appears* strongest, we shall perhaps be near the truth. At present she is evidently puzzled between consciousness of the strength of Russia and of the West.

Whatever may be the technical success of the mission entrusted to Count Orloff, for drawing away Austria from the union with the Four Powers,—whatever may be the decision of Austria to the request of the Czar, that her neutrality shall not be hostile to him,—it is evident that the neutrality is imperfectly sustained. Austria, who lately compelled Turkey to retract from the attempt to reduce her own subjects in Montenegro, and helps Servia to be neutral, grants a free passage over Hungary for the officers of the Russian army. Still, the language held by Ministers at

St. Petersburg, attests their sense of the danger that Austria would incur by openly siding against France and England.

The subject which next to that of Russia engages public attention was that of Prince Albert; and on this also Ministers were thoroughly explicit. Lord John Russell, in particular, relating on the authority of the Prince, how the whole matter stands. We have treated the subject in a separate paper. Here we may observe, that Prince Albert's position, as a suitable coadjutor of a female Sovereign, originally suggested by Lord Melbourne, and confirmed by Sir Robert Peel, has been recognised by every successive Minister. That the subject requires explanation, is admitted by the fact that the explanations are given. That the scandals have been suffered to anticipate the truth, proves the inconvenience and the disastrous moral effect of that secret system which haunts our official departments and our diplomacy. Both the Prince and Ministers have suffered in the public esteem, because a miserable etiquette prevented them from stating to the public how they really stood until calumny extorted the confession.

The position of Ministers in regard to reform is not so distinct or strong. Several measures are to be produced: a bundle of them to prevent bribery, reform oaths, transfer constituencies, and amend proceedings at elections. But there is no proof whatever that anything in the nature even of an *approach* towards a national suffrage is to be admitted. The Constitution is once more to be unsettled without being settled, and we agree with Lord Grey, as well as the Opposition, that the present is not a time for entertaining tinkering Reform Bills. For such a time, but one Reform Bill would be politic—a Reform Bill declaring that the electoral constituency and the entire nation are identical.

Several other measures in the Speech are much more promising. We might have some doubt respecting the opening of the coast-shipping trade; but that, unquestionably, the great difficulty under which commerce at present labours is the want of sufficient freight. The transfer of jurisdiction in matrimonial and testamentary cases from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts, is a measure much needed. The whole urgency of the case, as well as the probable nature of the reform in regard to wills, is indicated in a new pamphlet by Mr. Downing Bruce, whose exertions have greatly contributed to expedite the crushing exposure of the Will Registration Courts.

The re-organisation of the Civil Service, by throwing open all primary admission to public competition, with an examination, is based upon a report from special commissioners, whom the Treasury had entrusted with inquiry into the subject—Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote. Besides those measures announced in the Speech, Mr. Gladstone has introduced another to place the charge of collecting the revenue under the control of Parliament, instead of letting it remain to be deducted by the department or executive; and Lord Palmerston has again promised to introduce a Bill for reconstituting the Sewer Commission, infusing the principle of local administration.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have fairly provoked the interference of Government, and, before many weeks are passed, the Ministerial scheme for Reform at Oxford will be laid before Parliament. By superior obstinacy Oxford has gained this precedence. It will be proposed to open that university to persons who have hitherto been excluded, to amend its constitution, reform its studies, and bring it within an easy distance of the wants and tendencies of the nineteenth century. The restriction on fellowships will doubtless be removed, but it is not apprehended that the abolition of tests will be included in the Government plan. For our own part, until that horribly subversive condition be complied with, we can never regard the Universities as national institutions. We do not expect any thorough measure of reform. We know that an *effete* compromise of ecclesiasticism must still remain a while a distinguishing characteristic of our aristocratic educational cloisters; but we gladly hail a movement which, to say the least, is better than stagnation.

Next to the opening of Parliament, perhaps the most important fact of the week is the meeting of Convocation, truly for despatch of business. The agitation and stirring-up of this question has caused both Bishops and clergy deeply to feel the anomaly—may we say with the Bishop of Oxford

the dishonesty—of their position. Far and wide, hundreds are ready to agree with Dr. Thirlwall that if Convocation be not made a reality, it had better be forthwith abolished. In fact the movement is coming to a crisis; and hence the unusual importance of the proceedings of Wednesday. Committees were appointed; committees have been appointed before; but now a committee has been appointed, which, if it does not work, will cover its movers with ridicule—a committee to frame a Reform Bill for the Convocation itself. All men feel that its present constitution is absurd and impracticable. Can it be made so? That is the question the Bishop of London's committee will have to answer. Strangely enough, the motion met with obstruction in the Lower House. Mr. Archdeacon Denison, the clerical Cleon of that assembly, opposed it;—and why? Because he thought he saw in it a *coup d'église*, whereby laymen would be introduced. Therefore he marched through Coventry with the Low Churchmen, who eagerly joined him and egged him on with flatteries. But he and they were defeated, and the Lower House appointed seven men to meet the committee of the Upper House, and devise a constitution.

The conference assembled by the Society of Arts to discuss strikes and lock-outs proved successful as an attempt to collect a very respectable assemblage; but it failed through the impossibility of bringing a discussion upon ten several propositions to a conclusion in one day. It shows that the society may meet with a response, though not in the manner attempted.

A few words of foreign news still challenge notice. Spain, recently subject to a paltry *coup d'état*, in which general officers, suspected of entertaining opinions not complimentary to the Government, were exiled, is now promised a revolution. The overt signs are the circulation of placards, denouncing the "prostitution and pillage in Court and Government," and prognosticating an union of Spain with Portugal, under the present King of Portugal, "Pedro V." The idea is to give the throne of Portugal to Pedro's second brother Luis, and to unite the two kingdoms federally in one "empire."

From America we have somewhat disagreeable intelligence. After an irritating debate in the Senate, Mr. Clayton gave notice of a motion that, unless Lord Clarendon should "reconsider" his late despatches on the subject of Central America, naval and military means should be placed at the disposal of the President to enforce the evacuation of the Bay of Islands, under penalty of war. It is not to be supposed that the Senate will pass this motion. The difference has not yet attained such a stage. Supposing America could engage England in so disastrous a dispute, it is not likely that American citizens would desire to do so. There are other interests besides those of America in question. If England's hands were full now, what would become of liberal interests on the Continent? American politicians will see the wickedness as well as the folly of raising a great quarrel about a small matter, in which the English people certainly would not sustain its Government, if that Government should refuse reasonable propositions.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

The Parliament of England, so anxiously looked for by the country, was opened on Tuesday, by the Queen in person. The weather was fine; the state of our foreign relations, and the calumnious reports respecting Prince Albert, attracted an unusual crowd, which congregated on the whole line of the procession from Buckingham Palace to Westminster. There must have been more than a hundred thousand people. The windows and balconies were likewise full, and as the Queen passed along with her splendid escort, the long, loud, and thrilling cheer of the multitude saluted her. Calumny had, however, so far worked upon the lowest of the mob, as to cause a few slight hisses at the name of Prince Albert. The Turkish Ambassador, on the contrary, met with quite regal cheers—he heard the true British hurrah!

As usual the guns announced the Queen's arrival at the House of Peers. The whole interior of that gilded hall was filled with peeresses, their children, and relations; the *corps diplomatique*, among whom the Russian Ambassador was not; half-a-dozen ministers and a few peers. As the Queen was entering, down slid the gay coverings from the white shoulders of the fair spectators, and the whole of the brilliant company, glancing with all the hues of the rainbow, rose and stood, until the Queen, seating herself, told all to sit. Then the Commons were summoned, and they seem to have come rushing in like schoolboys, to the great amusement of the Queen. But so great

was the noise they made, that a part of the speech could not be heard; a row ensued between two Members; the Queen paused; there was a cry of "Hush," and her Majesty continued to read the following speech:—

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I am always happy to meet you in Parliament, and on the present occasion it is with peculiar satisfaction that I recur to your assistance and advice.

The hopes which I expressed at the close of the last session that a speedy settlement would be effected of the differences existing between Russia and the Ottoman Porte have not been realised, and I regret to say that a state of warfare has ensued.

I have continued to act in cordial co-operation with the Emperor of the French, and my endeavours, in conjunction with my allies, to preserve and to restore peace between the contending parties, although hitherto unsuccessful, have been unremitting. I will not fail to persevere in these endeavours; but as the continuance of the war may deeply affect the interests of this country and of Europe, I think it requisite to make a further augmentation of my naval and military forces, with a view of supporting my representations, and of more effectually contributing to the restoration of peace.

I have directed that the papers explanatory of the negotiations which have taken place upon this subject shall be communicated to you without delay.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

The estimates for the year will be laid before you, and I trust you will find that, consistently with the exigencies of the public service at this juncture, they have been framed with a due regard to economy.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

In the year which has just terminated, the blessing of an abundant harvest has not been vouchsafed to us. By this dispensation of Providence the price of provisions has been enhanced, and the privations of the poor have been increased; but their patience has been exemplary; and the care of the Legislature, evinced by the reduction of taxes affecting the necessities of life, has greatly tended to preserve a spirit of contentment.

I have the satisfaction of announcing to you that the commerce of the country is still prosperous; that trade, both of export and import, has been largely on the increase; and that the revenue of the past year has been more than adequate to the demands of the public service.

I recommend to your consideration a bill which I have ordered to be framed for opening the coasting trade of the United Kingdom to the ships of all friendly nations; and I look forward with satisfaction to the removal of the last legislative restriction upon the use of foreign shipping for the benefit of my people.

Communications have been addressed by my command to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with reference to the improvements which it may be desirable to effect in their institutions. These communications will be laid before you, and measures will be proposed for your consideration with the view of giving effect to such improvements.

The establishments requisite for the conduct of the civil service, and the arrangements bearing upon its condition, have recently been under review; and I shall direct a plan to be laid before you which will have for its object to improve the system of admission, and thereby to increase the efficiency of the service.

The recent measures of legal reform have proved highly beneficial, and the success which has attended them may well encourage you to proceed with further amendments. Bills will be submitted to you for transferring from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts the cognisance of testamentary and of matrimonial causes, and for giving increased efficiency to the superior courts of common law.

The laws relating to the relief of the poor have of late undergone much salutary amendment; but there is one branch to which I earnestly direct your attention. The law of settlement impedes the freedom of labour; and if this restraint can with safety be relaxed, the workman may be enabled to increase the fruits of his industry, and the interests of capital and of labour will be more firmly united.

Measures will be submitted to you for the amendment of the laws relating to the representation of the Commons in Parliament.

Recent experience has shown that it is necessary to take more effectual precaution against the evils of bribery, and of corrupt practices at elections. It will also be your duty to consider whether more complete effect may not be given to the principles of the act of the last reign, whereby reforms were made in the representation of the people in Parliament. In recommending this subject to your consideration, my desire is to remove every cause of just complaint, to increase general confidence in the legislature, and to give additional stability to the settled institutions of the State.

I submit to your wisdom the consideration of these important subjects; and I pray God to prosper your counsel, and to guide your decisions.

This being ended the Queen left the hall, the Commons returned to their hall, and both Houses adjourned.

THE ADDRESS.

In the evening they re-assembled; the Commons at four; the Lords soon after five o'clock. New writs having been moved for, the debate in the former was fairly commenced by Lord CASTLEBROOK, who, in a dull speech, moved the address in reply to the speech, and which was itself only an echo of the speech. Mr. THOMSON HANKEY, the seconder, did not succeed much better, but he sustained his subject longer. His staple was the blessings conferred by peace since 1815—a reduced debt, reduced taxes, better laws, free trade, and so on—all of which war would arrest. Therefore was he doubly thankful Ministers had taken such pains to avoid war. For the rest he followed his text—the speech from the throne.

The SPEAKER having read the address and put the question, the Opposition did not keep the House long in suspense as to their sentiments. Mr. HENRY BAILEY, while expressing his willingness to wait for the papers on the question, fully showed what view he took by calling Ministers to account for having followed an antiquated policy and supported the "integrity" and "deformity" of the tottering Turkish empire. He thought we should have told Turkey from the first that we would not go to war for her independence. That would have settled the question. Mr. BLACKETT rated the Government for not showing confidence in the people of England, and publishing information. There was precedent for it in the case of Sir Robert Peel, who produced papers relating to Serbia at the request of Lord Palmerston. Had Government been explicit, Prince Albert might have been spared even the shadow of suspicion.

Amid this serious speaking up got Colonel SMITH, told Ministers he did not believe a word of their speeches, and declared that he hoped we should have a war, and that the Russians would get a good drubbing.

Sir ROBERT PEEL followed in a speech which at the opening won a loud cheer by its grave denunciation of the hypocrisy of Russia. Sir Robert went on to justify the course pursued by Government; to attack the aggressive policy of Russia; to applaud the French and cast doubt on the German alliances. If Ministers, said he, replying to Mr. Baillie, have followed an antiquated policy, it is the policy which will command the support of the country. Turning from the East, he congratulated the House on the brighter prospect at home; a prospect of increased trade, and sound prosperity. With regard to Parliamentary reform, he was for disfranchising the corrupt and giving members to places like Birkenhead and Staleybridge.

Mr. HUME made a brief speech in favour of carrying out internal improvements; and of giving the working man the franchise. Mr. LIDDELL first, but faintly, attacked the working of the shipping laws; then Russian policy against Turkey, denouncing the Opposition view put forward by Mr. Baillie; and boldly asserting that if Turkey was to fall, the time for her dissolution had not arrived. He spoke the sense of the country when he said the people would support any measure to preserve its honour. With regard to Parliamentary reform, Mr. Liddell strongly urged the Government to postpone it, as we were on the eve of a war. Mr. Pitt adopted that course. Let them follow Mr. Pitt's patriotic example.

Here the debate suddenly became Irish. Mr. Sergeant SHER seemed offended at the omission of Ireland from the Queen's speech, and he drew an explanation from Sir JOHN YOUNG that the landlord and tenant bills of last session will be introduced this in the House of Lords.

After some observations from Mr. DIGBY SEYMOUR, Mr. FAGAN, Mr. HADFIELD, and Mr. J. PHILLIMORE, Mr. DISRAELI rose, and made an adroit speech, chiefly on the main topics of the evening, the East, and Parliamentary reform. On the former he was by no means clear. He taunted the Government with having said last August that the Russo-Turkish question was as good as settled. He declared that they had not held language sufficiently explicit and firm; and he boasted of his share in securing the French alliance. He gave Ministers credit for striving to maintain peace; but he expected to find that they have been faithful guardians of the national honour.

But the real temper of mind in which he treated of the question may be judged from the following sentences:—

"If," he said, "there be one thing which, notwithstanding the gloomy prospects of the country on this great matter, still inclines me to hope that there is some chance of an honourable peace, it is the ample means that her Majesty's Ministers have devised to occupy the time of Parliament during the coming session. I can hardly conceive that a body of men who believed that they were about to embark upon a great European struggle—as the common phrase is, but which is also an Asiatic struggle, and may stretch even to a third quarter of the globe, for Russia is not merely an European and Asiatic power, but is also an American power—I say I do not believe that a body of statesmen who believed they were about to meet the awful conjunctions and indefinite combinations which they must be prepared to encounter under such circumstances, would have asked us not only to reform the whole civil service—not only to reform the ecclesiastical courts—not only to reform the Poor Law—but even to reform the House of Commons. (Laughter and cheers.) Sir, I came down here to-day with some fear, as many of us had, that some awful disclosure, or some terrible announcement might be made. I thought we were going to make war upon the Emperor of Russia, and I find that we are going to make war upon ourselves. (Cheers and laughter.) I agree with the hon. Member for Liverpool in many of the remarks he has made upon the fact that the Government are about to bring forward a measure of reform. But if you are about to go to war, when all the energy of the nation should be collected and concentrated in the struggle that affects your external honour, then, I say, it would be entirely unwise and unstatesmanlike to distract and dissipate those energies, and to divert public feeling to other objects of a different character." (Cheers.)

Mr. Disraeli insisted with great pertinacity that

Ministers must keep their pledges and bring in a reform bill; and having made out that, he continued:—

"It may be most unwise to introduce such a measure under any circumstances, and it may be little short of madness to introduce such a measure under the present circumstances of the country—(cheers from the Opposition benches)—but the present Ministry must bring in a large measure of Parliamentary reform. Now, when that measure is introduced, I and my friends, after digesting it as a blue-book, will take the liberty to offer our humble observations upon it. I may be permitted to say, at the outset, that that is an adroit arrangement which favours the belief that there is any necessary connexion between a measure for purifying the representation of Parliament and a measure for reconstructing our electoral system. I hold that these two subjects have no necessary connexion whatever." (Cheers.)

He would vote for a stringent law to suppress bribery. The landed interest are not interested in bribery. But the settlement of 1832 is hallowed by prescription.

"But if 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill,' is at last to be brought before us and laid upon this table of execution by its pure projectors, who by its means sailed into popularity upon the tide of faction, I must really take the materials of which this House is composed, and endeavour to effect an adjustment more complete than now exists between the various classes of this country and the manner in which they are represented in this House. (Cheers.) I have had occasion before to point out, when large measures have been proposed by the hon. Member for Montrose, the extreme injustice with which the landed proprietors are treated with regard to the representation of the boroughs. I have placed the state of population and property before the House, and have shown that the greatest anomalies brought forward by hon. gentlemen opposite have been not only equalled, but infinitely surpassed, upon their own principles and dogmas, by the arrangement by which the inhabitants of counties are represented in the Commons House of Parliament. We have had very important returns ordered by the present Government, which only confirm and illustrate by fresh evidence those principles which I have placed before the House. It is not denied, at the present moment, that considerably more than half the population of this country is represented in this House by a body of between 160 and 170 county members, while you have 7,500,000 persons represented by nearly 400 members, who are called borough members. We have thought that a great injustice in our present arrangements, and, while you declare the importance of the large towns, there are very large portions of the population, larger than those contained in the large towns, who are represented in a very imperfect manner, because they have not that number of members which, according to your own principles, they are entitled to possess. When you come forward with that bold measure—when you add to that horde of forfeited seats which the noble lord has been sedulously accumulating, then we shall come forward, not with clamour, not with those organised arrangements which are brought into play if anything is demanded by the large towns; but we shall come forward to the House of Commons and ask you to apply your own facts and principles and to do us justice, remembering at the same time, when we ask you to do us justice, that if you accord that which we supplicate you will add to the strength and the reverence of the constitution of England." (Loud cheers.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL now struck in. Replying to Mr. Disraeli's philological observations on the Vienna note, he said the policy of the Ministry was intended to preserve peace with honour. The terms now proposed to the Emperor of Russia had the full assent of Turkey; but it would be misleading the House to say that he expected the Emperor would accept them. And while they were anxious for peace they did not intend to permit the Emperor of Russia, while pretending to negotiate, to complete his warlike preparations and find them unprepared. With respect to the position of Austria and Prussia he gave some information:—

"I may say that, considering the position of Russia as regards Turkey, the position of England and France was taken to oppose any designs upon the Turkish frontier. We have thought it would be an immense advantage if Austria and Prussia were to combine with us to prevent a war ensuing upon the aggressions that have been made by Russia. There has been published in the newspapers a protocol signed by the Ministers; that declaration does not fully meet the views of the Government of Great Britain—but still it is a great advantage so far as we can go together. I think it not unlikely that the Government of Austria should perceive that war is imminent, and that the negotiations in which she has willingly taken part will not be successful in inducing the Emperor of Russia from desisting from his purpose, and that nothing but a bolder measure and a stronger blow will enable her to aid in effecting this. I say that if the Great Powers—if Austria, seeing her interests that are greater than those of England and France—(hear, hear)—and seeing also that the interests of Europe are involved in the settlement of the question, will, together with the King of Prussia, act cordially with us, there can be no doubt what the ultimate, the immediate results will be—I say that, considering all things, our time has not been lost. We have adopted measures of pacification for awhile, and everything which we could do, consistently with honour, we have done, in endeavouring to persuade the Government of Austria to take a more successful measure."

Lord John laughed at the idea of abandoning the Reform Bill, because Pitt abandoned his. The reforms abandoned by Pitt, said he, were not carried until forty years after; "now I certainly cannot afford to wait so long." But the most interesting portion of his speech related to Prince Albert:—

"I hope I have not been wrong in supposing that no

member in this House would adopt or countenance the calumnies that have been spread respecting his Royal Highness Prince Albert. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) If these calumnies were like ordinary calumnies, and had only ordinary effects, I might be disposed to leave them without notice, and let them pass away in the course of time; but there has been so much of honest delusion as well as of foul calumny in them, that I do feel it necessary to make some statements with regard to the position of this illustrious prince. First, gentlemen, as to the charge of unconstitutional interference on the part of his Royal Highness—it has been generally admitted throughout the country, and by all persons, that there never was a sovereign who acted more strictly in the spirit of the constitution in the exercise of her prerogative than her Majesty. (Loud cheers.) Her Majesty has accepted the Minister whom she found approved of by the House of Commons, and to him has given her entire confidence. On her accession she found Lord Melbourne Prime Minister; and he had her complete confidence. Lord Melbourne was succeeded by Sir R. Peel, and Sir R. Peel, too, enjoyed the entire confidence of her Majesty. It was my destiny to succeed to Sir R. Peel; and for more than five years during which I held that honourable position, I can say most truly that I received from her Majesty every support and every mark of confidence that a Minister could fairly expect, and I took occasion to express to her Majesty my gratitude for the kindness with which I was treated, and for the attention with which all my representations were listened to by her Majesty. Well, then, is it not a strange and incredible assertion that, while her Majesty, having the Prince Consort by her side during the greater part of that time, had pursued a course of conduct entirely constitutional in respect to her Government, the Prince Consort could have been acting on the other hand in an unconstitutional manner? There is something entirely absurd and contradictory on the face of such a statement. But I do feel it necessary, owing to this 'honest delusion,' which I said prevailed, to enter more into what is the position, not much defined in any of our law-books, and not fenced by the usual guards of law and precedent. When her Majesty came to the throne, being then only eighteen years of age, and of course inexperienced in affairs, Lord Melbourne considered what it became him to do, when her Majesty was pleased to say that he should continue in the post of First Lord of the Treasury. It seemed to Lord Melbourne that it was his duty to advise her Majesty on all subjects with respect to matters of domestic interest—with respect to the arrangements of the palace, as well as with respect to the higher and ordinary duties of a Prime Minister. But, doubtful whether he had come to a right opinion, he resorted to the highest advice he could obtain; he went to the Duke of Wellington and stated his views. The Duke of Wellington entirely concurred with Lord Melbourne, and said that, if he held the office of Prime Minister, he should take exactly the course which Lord Melbourne had pointed out. About three years after her Majesty's accession her Majesty espoused Prince Albert, the present Prince Consort. The position in which Prince Albert would stand was likewise matter of consideration. He was, as the House knows, naturalised by Parliament, and in such a manner that he could become a member of the Privy Council. Some doubts have been started on this subject, but everybody who looked into the subject is aware that Prince Albert was not only able but fully authorised to sit in the Privy Council. Lord Melbourne asked me—I am quite uncertain as to the date—as to the course that should be pursued with respect to despatches and all the most secret communications of the Ministry. I said I had no doubt whatever that her Majesty should communicate them as she thought fit to the Prince Consort, and that I did not think that in his relation to her Majesty it would be fit to have any concealment on this subject. I am not sure, from recollection, whether Lord Melbourne or myself mentioned the subject at that time to the Cabinet; but I am perfectly sure, as far as Lord Melbourne and myself are concerned, that we thought it our duty to advise the Queen that such should be her conduct with respect to the despatches and communications. I think any other advice would have been foolish and unbecoming. It could not but happen that the Prince, after his marriage, would discuss public events with her Majesty; and, to fancy that he should only gather his information from newspapers and public statements, while her Majesty had all the despatches and official information, would be to suppose not only an absurdity, but a thing that would have been impracticable. (Cheers.) Such, then, being the position of the Prince, it is quite evident that there is no truth in the colour which has been attempted to be placed on his Royal Highness's relation to her Majesty in this respect; that Lord Melbourne constitutionally debarred the Prince from a knowledge of state affairs, and that Sir Robert Peel was the first person to introduce him to a knowledge of those affairs. I believe it is true that in Sir R. Peel's time it first happened that his Royal Highness was present during the interviews which the Ministers had with the Queen, but the House will at once see, that if his Royal Highness, according to the advice of Lord Melbourne, was informed of all that was going on, and knew, as well as her Majesty, all that was taking place, his mere introduction into the closet when the Ministers had their communication with her Majesty was merely a convenience, and added nothing to the principle adopted. (Cheers.) Naturally, if the Prince had not been present (he is usually present, but not always so) when the Ministers were with the Queen, her Majesty would have communicated to him what had occurred. That would have been a circuitous report of what the Ministers had said, and, I think, a less convenient mode of communication than if his Royal Highness were present at the closet for I need hardly say that his Royal Highness, having the intellect, the information, and the knowledge that belongs to him, it would have been quite impossible that his Majesty should not have spoken to him on every matter of great importance. I am now speaking generally of these relations, without any reference to the constitutional relations which exist between the Sovereign and her Ministers, because I stated at the commencement that there never had been any complaint that these relations were not properly conducted.

Well, then, it was not Sir R. Peel, but Lord Melbourne and myself who advised (and we thought we were acting in the full spirit of the constitution in giving that advice) that his Royal Highness should be fully informed with respect to all affairs of a national interest. But did Lord Melbourne, when he went out of office, consider there was no advantage in her Majesty having that counsel? Be it remembered that Lord Melbourne took on himself, at the accession of the Queen during her youth, to give advice on every subject that came before her Majesty. At the time when Sir R. Peel accepted the reins of office, her Majesty had been already married. It was on the 30th of August, 1841, that Lord Melbourne wrote to her Majesty in these terms:—

"Aug. 30, 1841.—Lord Melbourne cannot satisfy himself without again stating to your Majesty in writing what he had the honour of saying to your Majesty respecting his Royal Highness the Prince. Lord Melbourne has formed the highest opinion of his Royal Highness's judgment, temper, and discretion; and he cannot but feel a great consolation and security in the reflection that he leaves your Majesty in a situation in which your Majesty has the inestimable advantage of such advice and assistance. Lord Melbourne feels certain that your Majesty cannot do better than to have recourse to it when it is needed, and to rely upon it with confidence."

(*Cheers.*) Such was the opinion which Lord Melbourne had formed of his Royal Highness's ability and character, and I may say that no one who ever had any intercourse with his Royal Highness could form any other opinion, but must appreciate most highly the judgment and ability of that distinguished personage. These are observations which I am called on to make, for, be it recollected, I am now speaking in defence of a Prince near the throne, who has been injured by anonymous scandal—(*cheers*)—and this is the first opportunity he has authorised any communication to be made. (*Renewed cheers.*) His Royal Highness then continued in the position I have mentioned, giving advice to her Majesty whenever it was needed, and assisting her Majesty whenever she thought assistance required; yet the most constitutional deference was at the same time paid to the advice of the Ministers. And be it observed, though it may have happened in the course of the reign of the Princes of the House of Hanover, that Ministers have been obliged to resign because they could not agree to something that the Sovereign proposed, or because they were obliged to tender advice which was not acceptable to the Sovereign; yet in the reign of the present Queen, the administrations have always ceased in consequence of a vote of this House. (*Cheers.*) During my administration there occurred a case in which his Royal Highness had again to consider his position, and to determine what he should do with respect to a proposal that was made. I had some correspondence with the Duke of Wellington at the time when the office of Adjutant-General was vacant; and the Duke of Wellington went to Windsor and informed Prince Albert that it was his opinion that it would be a great advantage to the army, if, after his death, his Royal Highness were placed by her Majesty in the position of Commander-in-Chief. The Duke of Wellington said, that he had thought much on it—that all his feelings and wishes were for the good administration of the army—that the army peculiarly belonged to the Crown, and that he did not think its interests could in any way be so well cared for as in the case that Prince Albert would consent to be his successor. The Duke added that he wished to have a decision on the subject, because he would make such arrangements with respect to the office of Adjutant-General, and other offices at the Horse Guards, as would give to his Royal Highness all the assistance he would require. Prince Albert could not but feel it a great compliment to be told by the Duke of Wellington that he was a proper person to succeed him in the command of the army, but, after some reflection, he informed the Duke of Wellington that he considered his place was to be always near the Queen; that he thought he ought to identify himself with her position and her interests, and that he would depart from that attitude if he sought to have any separate office of his own, more especially the important office of Commander-in-Chief, and thereby become responsible for other duties, and the exercise of other powers than those which her Majesty had to perform. (*Cheers.*) Immediately after that answer was given I had the honour of an interview with his Royal Highness, when he read to me a letter he had written to the Duke of Wellington, and I expressed my opinion that his Royal Highness had judged most rightly, and had correctly viewed his position. I think there were other reasons besides why Prince Albert should not have held the office of Commander-in-Chief; but it was quite unnecessary to state them, the reasons given by his Royal Highness being quite sufficient, and they showed that, while he considered that he ought not to be Commander-in-Chief, he likewise considered whether he could not be aid and assistance to her Majesty, and felt that he was bound to give his whole mind, intelligence, zeal, and ability to that object. (*Cheers.*) With regard to the charges made against his Royal Highness, many of them are too frivolous to be worth attention, being mere straws, which appeared one day and disappeared the next. But now, having explained the general position of the Prince—a position of the greatest importance—I shall mention some of the charges which have been made against him with respect to different branches of the public service. With respect to the army in particular, it has been stated that his Royal Highness has been in the habit of constantly interfering. Now, I should say that when the Duke of Wellington requested the decision of Prince Albert on the suggestion he had made, he at the same time said that it was not likely that the Queen should attend personally to the details of the military service, but he hoped that his Royal Highness would always give his attention to anything that affected the state and efficiency of the army. This his Royal Highness has done with respect to any general questions which he thought affected its state and efficiency; but with respect to the ordinary business of the Horse Guards, and with respect to patronage, there he has never in any way interfered. I think the House will agree with me, however, that after the Duke of Wellington had made the request I

have just mentioned, stating that her Majesty was hardly likely to attend to those points which the kings her predecessors had, it is but right that his Royal Highness, with respect to general questions which might tend to improve the army, should pay attention to them."

Lord John also showed that Prince Albert had nothing whatever to do with the resignation of Sir George Brown; that the Prince never corresponded with foreign Ministers; and that when one Minister once wrote to him, he sent the letter to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to know what answer he should send. Lord John concluded by a glowing description of the domestic happiness of the Queen and Prince, and of the comfort they find in communicating with one another.

After a few words from Mr. WALPOLE the Address was agreed to, and the House adjourned.

In the HOUSE OF LORDS the debate was sharper and more personal, and ended in an altercation. The Earl of CARNARVON, who moved the Address, made an elegant and sensible speech, treating of all the topics in the Royal oration, and making some spirited comments. He pointed out, too, the great prosperity of the country.

"And now, after nearly forty years of peace and prosperity, it seemed, at last, that we must gaze on War face to face; but if this should be so indeed, we might console ourselves that he came to us an unbidden and unwelcome guest—that every effort had been strained to avert his approach—and that we had not drawn the sword until diplomacy had exhausted every art, and forbearance could no longer be a virtue. But if that forbearance had been unprecipitated, so were the resources with which we were prepared to meet this emergency. Our patience, even if abused, had not been thrown away; for we should stand acquitted of all precipitancy and eagerness for war, not only before the great tribunal of present times, but in the eyes of future ages, when they shall review this page of our history. Nor could it be attributed to any unworthy motive, but an honourable reluctance to precipitate a contest—the reluctance of a great nation, conscious of its own strength. If eventually our efforts should meet with the success they deserve, and be rewarded by a lasting peace, they would receive the full approbation of the country, and we should exhibit another example in history of a Fabian policy being the resuscitation of the state. He did not believe that a long peace had enervated our national vigour. Whatever might be the occasion to call them forth, he was convinced that England was rich enough in heroes, and that a second race of warriors would arise—another Wellington, another Beresford, another Exmouth, and another Nelson. He could not believe that the energy which had made us victorious in the past lay buried now in the tomb of our great and immortal hero whose loss we had so lately deplored. The armies which he had organised—the discipline which he had established—and the precepts which he had given, still remained; and amongst those precepts there was none more deserving of our attention than the maxim that a great state could not deal with a little war."

Lord DECIÉ seconded the address, but he was barely heard. Then followed Lord CLANRICARDE, complaining bitterly of the Government for not having adopted more vigorous measures; for not having supplied information; for not, even now, telling the nation whether it was engaged in war or not! Vacillation and weakness had characterised the measures of the Government. They had known long ago what were the intentions of Russia; and if they did not, why not have put a direct question? An evasive answer would have shown what should be done.

Lord CLARENDON said the speech of Lord Clanricarde was only another proof of the inconvenience of withholding information. Government felt that it could not depart from the ordinary rule; it might have benefited the Minister, but it would have injured the interest of peace. It was said Government had abjectly determined to avoid war; true, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to say that peace was their object; that they were prepared to make any sacrifice for peace short of national honour; for if war ensued it would be without parallel—Europe would be a battle-field of contending opinions. But if war ensued, never was the tranquillity of the world more wantonly disturbed; never did it more become France and England to oppose aggression. Early last year the Emperor of Russia had given solemn direct assurances that his policy was peaceful; up to April last there was no reason to suspect that more was intended than the settlement of the dispute about the holy places; and only after that settlement was complete did the designs of Russia become visible. When Russia crossed the Pruth, although that act was a *casus belli*, Turkey did not act upon it, nor England, on the supposition the Czar only intended to keep a momentary hold of the Principalities. Besides, the Sultan was quite unprepared; the Russians might have marched to Constantinople; and the delay secured Prussia and Austria.

"And, my lords, as the individual who has had most frequent experience, I trust your lordships will not think it out of place if I bear my humble testimony to the straightforward, frank, and perfectly honourable conduct of the French Government. (*Loud cheers.*) That policy has been most ably and faithfully represented here by his Majesty the Emperor's ambassador in London. The two Governments have been in daily, I may almost say hourly, communication. They have formed, as it were, one Cabinet, and I can assure my noble friend that there never was more difference

between the two Governments than is to be found among the members of the same Cabinet. (*Hear, and great laughter.*) I mean such differences of opinion as only increased their mutual respect." Speaking of the late negotiations, he said—"That, whatever the result of the war might be, there should be no changes in territorial boundaries. They adopted a collective note; asking the Porte upon what terms it was prepared to negotiate. When that note arrived at Constantinople other bases of negotiation had been presented for the consideration of the Porte by the representatives of the Four Powers, and those representatives, in the exercise of a sound discretion, did not present the other note. The answer of the Porte by the representatives was sent to Vienna, and was entirely approved of by the Four Powers, who recorded their opinions that the terms were reasonable, and such as Russia should accept; in other words, they proclaimed, 'If Russia does not accept them, she is the sole obstacle to peace, and she must be held responsible for all the dangers consequent from her refusal.' That is the present state of affairs as regards negotiations. No answer has yet been received from St. Petersburg, although I shall be inclined to agree with my noble friend that such fair and reasonable terms as those proposed by the Porte are not likely to be accepted, but as yet we have no answer. Notwithstanding, my lords, the negotiations which were going on, yet when that horrible disaster at Sinope happened—when a Turkish fleet, not having been employed as has been said in Russian papers, in carrying troops to attack Russian forts, or to assist the Circassians, but simply lying peaceably in the harbour, having been many days before expected at Constantinople upon their return—when this fleet was destroyed in a barbarous manner, her Majesty's Government then, in conjunction with the French Government, determined at once to protect not only the territory—for instruction to protect the Turkish territory had been given two or three months before—but it was determined to extend that protection to the Turkish fleets, and accordingly notice to that effect was sent to the Russian Government and the Russian admiral."

Lord MALMESBURY made a speech, complaining bitterly that no information had been given, and that no determined measures had been taken. Lord GREY objecting to both Turks and Russians, and proclaiming the doctrine of non-intervention, said, with great energy, that if we should engage in war, it ought to be carried out with the utmost vigour; a declaration saluted by thrilling cheers from all sides. Lord GREY urged on the Government the necessity of altering the regulations of both army and navy, so that young and able men might have commands.

"The calamities of war would be the less likely to extend if it were carried on, while it did exist, with the utmost energy; and he hoped there would be no shrinking from striking the heaviest blows they could inflict upon Russia in every quarter where she might be found most vulnerable. (*Hear, hear.*) He hoped her Majesty's Government had already considered and determined upon the measures they were to adopt. He hoped especially that they had considered and were prepared to deal with those defects which a long peace could not but have introduced into our naval and military services. (*Hear, hear.*) There was one point which especially seemed to him of the most paramount importance, and he trusted some regulation would be adopted by which the honour of the British arms and the interests and safety of the country might be confided to officers in command who were still in the vigour of their age. (*Hear, hear, from the Ministerial bench.*) Their lordships were no doubt aware that under the present regulation of the British service—which differed in this respect from every other service in Europe—there were no means whatever of bringing forward officers to command, of the rank of general or flag officers, by selection. In the junior ranks of the service the Admiralty and Commander-in-Chief had the means of bringing forward, according to their judgment, officers who distinguished themselves in their profession; but when in the navy an officer had become post-captain, and when in the army he had become a full colonel, from that moment, according to the present practice of the service, there were no means whatever of advancing him to the rank of a major general or a flag officer. The consequence was that, in a long peace, and with slow promotion, even those officers who had been most fortunate in rising rapidly through the lower grades of their profession, could hardly expect to attain the rank of a general officer under fifty years of age. Indeed, he doubted whether at this moment they had a single general officer so young, and certainly a very great majority of our general officers did not attain that rank till they reached a far later period of life."

Earl Grey urged Ministers to abandon reform. The moment is unsuitable to launch such a great question.

Lord DERRY could not be altogether silent at such an awful crisis as the present. But before he went into the Eastern question he slightly passed over the topic of university reform. No doubt the discipline and studies of those universities required alteration, and a strong opinion in favour of improvement prevailed there. But those alterations would be more beneficial if made cautiously and prudently. Let Government abolish the mischievous oaths by which the existing bodies bind themselves not to alter the statutes. Grant that it is desirable to open fellowships to competition; they are in no sense the property of the country; they are not even the absolute property of the universities; they are trusts. Pointing out the omission of education—one of the subjects dwelt on by the Government when they came into office—also all mention of the United States, the treaty which opened the River Plate, and the treaty with Ecuador, he came at length to that subject, the importance and gravity of which cannot be overrated—the state of our relations with Russia. On that

point the language of the speech is not clear. Are we at war; if so, with whom? What are we doing in the Black Sea—is not that virtually a state of war?

"I do not blame her Majesty's Government for having used their best efforts to preserve peace and prevent the calamity of war. There is no man, not even the noble earl himself, who looks with more apprehension and horror at war than I do. I mean that apprehension which every man must feel when contemplating the troubles arising from a state of warfare, and when reflecting that war must ever be accompanied with great calamities to the human race. No man so contemplating it looks at war with greater apprehension and abhorrence than I do. I do not therefore complain at the Government having tried to avert war, but I do complain—as far as my information goes (and I should be convinced by a perusal of the papers, one way or the other)—that the means taken by her Majesty's Government were not the only or the best means to effect their object, but that they were the means best calculated inevitably to thwart it. (*Cheers from the Opposition.*) The noble earl has said that it is not desirable that this country should adopt the language or assume the attitude of suspicion towards Russia. My lords, if there is any country towards whom it is desirable that England should not adopt an attitude attended with suspicion, that very country is Russia. But, on the other hand, there is no country in the world with whom, while we should not conduct our policy with suspicion, it is more essential that we should deal with a frank, open, and lucid declaration of that which we will allow, and of that which we will not allow; of that which we intend to do, and of that which we will not allow to be done. Then would the ambitious and aggressive spirit of Russia be met by the vigour of England's resistance. The whole policy of Russia for the last 150 years has been a policy of gradual aggression. It has at one time been by mediation, then by offering assistance to whatever party would accept it, then by tendering to that party its protection till she had one by one got all these States under its influence and finally absorb them into one gigantic empire. It is in that way Russia has succeeded in becoming the power she is. That has been the one course which Russia has invariably pursued. But if at an early period the Emperor of Russia had been made clearly to understand that in attempting to carry that policy into effect he would have had to meet the unhesitating and unflinching opposition, morally and physically, of France and England combined, my opinion is that he never would have taken the steps he has done. I think the Emperor of Russia has great cause of complaint. I think her Majesty's Government has deceived and deluded him with regard to the course he might have expected them to pursue. I don't say that this has been intentionally done by her Majesty's Government. I pass over what my noble friend behind me has said; nevertheless, there was a great deal of truth in it; for an effect must have been produced in the mind of the Emperor of Russia, in the course of the last year, by the constant, the incessant denunciations of a portion of the press encouraged by the peculiar favours of the noble earl. (*A laugh by the Earl of Aberdeen.*) If the noble earl says no, I will show why I fear it is so. I am far from desiring to affix to any political party all the expressions or all the errors that might be used or committed by the newspapers which generally support the policy of that party; but, my lords, I must draw an exception when I find one peculiar newspaper is intrusted by her Majesty's Government with a letter—with an important paper which one fortnight before that Government had refused to lay before Parliament on the ground that there was public danger in producing such a document. When, too, I find that same newspaper, upon a most extraordinary and remarkable occasion, announcing the fact, not only unknown to his colleagues, but unknown even to his Sovereign, of the resignation of office by one of the most important members of the Cabinet—when I find, not only the announcement of that fact before its coming to the knowledge of his colleagues, and even before its coming to the knowledge of his Sovereign, but that same newspaper proceed to discuss the Cabinet secrets, and the grounds of difference between the members of the same Cabinet—when I find that newspaper leading the Minister whose resignation it had announced with vituperation, supported by references to papers which must have been regularly prepared before his resignation was absolutely completed—and when I find that same paper, when it was discovered that the place of that Minister could not be filled up within ten days, afterwards congratulating the Government on retaining among them that able Minister, on riddance from whom it had equally congratulated them a few days before—I say, my lords, when I find such essentially important communications, which could only proceed from the Cabinet itself, I cannot hold the noble lord wholly irresponsible for the language adopted by that newspaper."

Having proceeded in that strain to identify Lord Aberdeen with the *Times*, Lord Derby came back after a long digression to the question:—

"I quite concur in what has been said by a noble lord to-night relative to this subject—namely, that if we are really to be engaged in a war, it is now too late to go ill-naturedly into the causes which led to it, or to press upon the notice of the country how it could have been avoided if more prudent measures had been adopted, as they ought to have been, by her Majesty's Ministers. We must look to the war itself, and, provided the object of it be laudable, and the cause worth fighting for, we must enter upon the contest with our might, and, instead of giving way to party feelings and party prejudices, devote all our energies to strengthen her Majesty's hands, and maintain and carry out our work in a manner and a spirit worthy of our reputation and name." (*Lord cheers.*)

Lord Derby then commented on the proposed Reform Bill, and threatened a dire opposition to a redistribution of the electoral power adverse to the landed interest; but he would support a measure to put a stop to corruption. Referring to the resignation of Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby artfully

insinuated that that event had arisen out of a difference between Lord Palmerston and Lord Aberdeen; that there must have been either great weakness, or a great compromise of principle; and, tauntingly asking which was the chief of the Cabinet, he declared the House had a right to know the facts.

Lord ABERDEEN instantly followed, and met the attacks of his assailant with energy.

"My lords," said he, "the noble earl has thought proper to say that the Emperor of Russia has good reason to complain of the Government; and he has specially directed his observation to me, and has said that my known reluctance to engage in a war, and the declarations which I have made upon that subject, were such as to mislead him and to make him feel that I could never be a party to engaging in hostilities against him. My lords, I am ready to repeat all the declarations I have ever made against this country engaging in a war against any state, and certainly against Russia. This country has not unfrequently engaged in war in haste, and repented it at leisure. (*Cheers.*) I consider it to be my duty, and the duty of the Government, not to say that, under all circumstances, we will never engage in a war, but to use every possible effort and every endeavour to check a feeling which, I admit, is natural. In the present instance, that popular feeling is one of indignation against what appears aggression and injustice; but still it is the duty of the Government to endeavour to restrain within bounds those indignant feelings which are perfectly natural. My lords, this accusation of the noble earl is an odious one. I must remind your lordships that it is the opinion, not only of moralists, but also of all statesmen, that no war can be justifiable unless it partakes of the nature of a war in self-defence. My opinion of war is such as I have already said, that I think it the greatest proof of the thorough depravity and corruption of human nature that anything so horrible as war should ever be just and lawful; and, in some cases, all must agree that as well as the greatest calamity war is the utmost folly. Now, my lords, repeating in the strongest terms all that I have ever uttered upon the subject of the horror and detestation I entertain for a state of war, I may admit that there must be exceptions. No man can pretend that there is any real danger to this country from the war now existing; yet, as interfering with a proper preservation of the balance of power established in Europe, no doubt, it might be considered in some sense a war of self-defence, as the relative power of various States must be fixed with a view to the general security. My lords, this is an odious accusation, and it has been repeated over and over again, and, in truth, I have observed that the whole censure of the public press opposed to her Majesty's Government has been concentrated upon me; my noble friend next to me, who naturally is charged with the conduct of these affairs, should have been the prominent person to be remarked upon, but he has passed without observation. (*Laughter.*) When your lordships come to see the volume which will be laid on the table, you will see with what ability and with what zeal my noble friend has carried on those negotiations, and how well entitled he is to share the acclamations. (*Laughter.*) It has been said, and noble lords opposite have said, that I am the tool and instrument of Russia. Now, my lords, it is a singular fact that few persons in this country—few public men I mean—have ever written more, or with more acrimony, than myself against the Russian Government. It is true that honourable—I may say, right honourable calumniators in the public press have accused me of betraying the honour and interest of this country as I did in 1829. That is an inconsistent accusation. I am quite ready to take all the responsibility that any one may impose on me for anything that has been done during the present year. If it be true that I have in the present year betrayed the honour and interest of the country, I beg to say that I cannot have done it also in the year 1829. In that year I occupied the station now held by my noble friend near me, and I served under a man who knew something about the honour and interest of the country, and of his opinions on foreign policy I consider myself to be as good an exponent as any man living, for no man ever enjoyed more entirely his confidence for many years, both in and out of office, or more in daily communication, and I feel somewhat fortified at knowing how that great man would have acted."

Yet he was described as a sort of Austro-Russian, when he had no more relation with the Austrian Cabinet than with Japan. Austria is our natural ally, so is Russia—but he would not say with Mr. Fox that the Russian alliance was the most important we could form. He described the vigorous course which Lord Derby blamed the Government for not pursuing as a sort of game of brag he did not like. Had the Government held menacing language to the Emperor of Russia before the Porte declared war, he might have marched to Constantinople for Turkey was totally unprepared. But if the Emperor of Russia had cause of complaint, so it was said had the Emperor of France.

"Whatever may be my faults, indifference to a French alliance cannot be said to be one of them, for whether that alliance be with Charles X. or Louis XVIII., or the present Emperor, my settled opinion always has been, my conduct and policy always have been, that a French alliance is most desirable for this country. Why, who was the author of that expression which has since passed current—the *entente cordiale*? That phrase was first used at the time when I was at the Foreign office."

He stated distinctly that the Vienna note was told both to the Turkish and Russian Ministers at Vienna, at the time it was transmitted to St. Petersburg and Constantinople; that the Queen did know of Lord Palmerston's resignation before it was announced in the *Times*. Speaking of Lord Derby he continued:—

"I understand he has announced his determination to extract from her Majesty's Government all the particulars connected with that transaction. I hope he has not set his heart very strongly upon these same particulars, because he will certainly fail in extracting from me more than I think proper to state. I am the last man to deny the cleverness of the noble earl, but he must be a very clever fellow—(*laughter*)—who will extract from me that which I am not disposed to tell him. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Now what are the circumstances of the case? They are connected with the preparation of a measure of Parliamentary reform. A misapprehension took place on the part of my noble friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and under that apprehension, and in the belief that certain provisions of the measure were finally settled which were not finally settled, he tendered his resignation. Well, explanations took place, and my noble friend—I was going to say resumed, but he had never in fact ceased to perform, the duties of Secretary of State, and the country had not had reason to complain that the duties of the office were not regularly and efficiently performed. But if the noble lord thinks he may demand to know all the circumstances of the case, and the means of reconciliation, I deny that he has any right to ask any such question. Had my noble friend left office, then, indeed, he would have been bound to give a full account of his reasons for so doing. To be sure, the noble earl opposite may think, with Sir Lucius, that this was a very pretty quarrel as it stood; but I apprehend that, whether it be in the Cabinet, or whether it be elsewhere, if a misunderstanding or misapprehension take place, which is afterwards reconciled, and the parties act cordially again together, it may be a matter of curiosity, or it may be a matter of mischief—(*laughter*)—but it is not a legitimate ground for inquiry."

Lord Aberdeen then proceeded to refute the disgraceful scandals about Prince Albert. [The reader has already seen Lord John Russell's account; they were nearly identical.]

Lord HARDINGE corroborated the statement. Prince Albert never interfered at the Horse Guards. He had nothing to do with the resignation of General Brown.

Here the debate would have naturally come to an end, but for the fact that Lord Aberdeen, in making his statement about Prince Albert, stated that the press most devoted to Lord Derby's party had taken so scandalous a part in spreading calumny. Lord DERBY fired up at this home thrust, and, with acrimony, declared that the Radical journals were the prime offenders. Lord Aberdeen had no right to insinuate that the Conservative party countenanced these scandals.

Lord ABERDEEN said he had only affirmed that Lord Derby should be the last man in the world to connect anybody with the press on account of any supposed similarity of opinion expressed by that periodical in which the report might have been found. He had not counted the number of days on which the different newspapers had indulged in those abominable and scandalous reports, but he had seen those reports in the newspapers which were received as the organs of the noble earl's party. He said, therefore, the noble earl ought to use caution in charging others with any connexion with the press on account of any supposed similarity of sentiment, and that was all he had said, or meant to say.

Earl DERBY said the noble earl still imputed those odious slanders to the Conservative newspapers, notwithstanding that they had their origin and propagation in newspapers connected with extreme liberal opinions. They might have been copied into those other newspapers on which they were charged. He could say for one of them, that he had seen them there with deep regret, and for the other, he had not seen it at all.

Lord HARROWBY affirmed that some Conservative gentlemen of standing should have checked those reports in the Conservative papers; whereupon Lord MALMESBURY fiercely charged him with making the most offensive of speeches—"he has charged me and my noble friends with connexion with the press."

(*Roars of laughter.*)

The address was agreed to.

SEWERS COMMISSION.

Lord Palmerston has announced a bill to reconstruct the Sewers Commission, on the principle of local administration.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

On the first day of the session, Mr. Hayter made the following announcements of the order of introduction of the Government measures:—

"To-morrow," he said, "the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a committee of the whole House, would move for leave to bring in a bill to alter the mode of proceeding in regard to certain expenses now charged on the inland revenue and the consolidated fund. At the same time and on the same day the right hon. gentleman would move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act of last session relating to the duties on assessed taxes. On Friday the President of the Board of Trade would, in a committee of the whole House, move for leave to bring in a bill to admit foreign ships to the coasting trade. And on the same day the right hon. gentleman would also move for leave to bring in a bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the merchant shipping. On Monday, Feb. 6, the noble lord the member for the City of London would move for a committee of the whole House on the subject of the oath of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration. On Friday, February 10, the noble lord would move for leave to bring in a bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to bribery, treating, and the exercise of undue

influence at elections for members of Parliament. On the same day the noble lord would also move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to the trial of election petitions, and for inquiry into the exercise of corrupt practices at elections. On the same day the President of the Poor-law Board would move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to the removal, settlement, and chargeability of the poor in England and Wales. On Monday, the 13th of February, the noble lord would move for leave to bring in a bill further to amend the law relating to the representation of the people in England and Wales. (Cheers.) And on the same day the noble lord would move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law concerning the vacating of seats by members of the House of Commons.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.—The House having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved for leave to bring in a bill on the subject of the public revenue and Consolidated Fund charges. He explained that it was not then necessary for him to go into the matter at any length, as the interest of the measure was derived from its connexion with a larger subject. The present practice in regard to the expenses of collecting the revenue, and to the defraying various charges out of the sums so collected, had been one which it had long been felt desirable to alter; and last session the Government had pledged itself to endeavour to devise means to submit these matters to the House among the estimates. That pledge he hoped to redeem as regarded the Inland Revenue, the Customs, and the Post-office; and he trusted also to be able to deal with the great variety of charges upon those sources of income, placing upon the Consolidated Fund such charges as it was proper to retain upon it, and including all others in the annual estimates. The result would be an advance towards a comprehensive, clear, and accurate system of public accounts.

Mr. HUME and Mr. WILLIAMS expressed their satisfaction at the prospect of the attainment of an object for which they had long laboured. Mr. DISRAELI said that the object of the bill appeared to be one which the Government of Lord Derby had designed to carry out, and which would be of great advantage to the country. The measure would receive every support from his side of the House. Leave was given to bring in the bill.

MIDNIGHT LEGISLATION.—Mr. BROTHERTON made his annual motion to prevent the House from sitting about new work after 12 o'clock at night. But his plan met with little support. Sir JOHN PAKINGTON suggested, and Lord JOHN RUSSELL adopted, a proposition, to be carried out on a future day, for appointing a committee on the forms of the House. Finally Mr. Brotherton was defeated by 84 to 54.

THE PECUNY BOROUGHS.—On the motion of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, it was ordered that no new writs should be issued for Barnstable, Cambridge, Canterbury, Hull, Maldon, and Tynemouth, before the 9th of March.

NEW WRITS.—On the motion of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, a new writ was ordered for the election of a burgess for the University of Oxford, in the room of Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart., who, since his election, had accepted the office of Steward of her Majesty's Hundred of Northstead. The right hon. gentleman said, he was sure the name of the hon. baronet would long be remembered by the House with mingled feelings of regret and respect. (Cheers.)

On the motion of Mr. HAYTER, new writs were ordered for the county of Louth, in the room of Chichester Fortescue, Esq., who, since his election, had accepted the office of a Lord of the Treasury; for the southern division of Staffordshire, in the room of Lord Lewisham, called to the Upper House; for Brecknock, in the room of C. R. Morgan, Esq., deceased.

On the motion of Sir W. JOLLIFFE, a new writ was ordered for the southern division of Shropshire, in the room of Robert Clive, Esq., deceased.

On the motion of the Earl of MARCH, a new writ was issued for the western division of the county of Sussex, in the room of R. Prime, Esq., who, since his election, had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

NOTICES OF MOTION.—Two of the notices are of interest. Lord EGLINTON announces that on the 17th he will bring forward a motion on education. Sir FRITZROY KELLY (!) will, on the 16th, bring in a bill "to regulate the practice at elections of members of Parliament, and to prevent bribery, corruption, and intimidation, which had so extensively prevailed at the last general election." (Cheers.)

SITTING OF CONVOCATION.

THE one day's sitting of the Convocation of Canterbury took place on Wednesday; and real business was done. In the Upper House thirteen bishops assembled round the presidential chair of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The first business was to receive a report on the right of stipendiary curates to vote for proctors. The report decided, not that these curates—the democracy of the Church—ought not to vote, but that there were no precedents showing their legal right to vote. The Bishop of Exeter, standing stoutly by true principles, contended that the curates were as much a portion of the diocese as the incumbents, and had as great a right to vote. In his diocese they were always summoned. However, as a matter of fact, it could not be denied that there were no precedents, and the report of that fact was received and adopted.

The next business was the receiving of petitions; and the next, most important of all, a motion by the Bishop of London, for a committee to consider and report "whether any—and if so, what—reforms in the constitution of Convocation were expedient to enable it to treat with the full confidence of the Church of such matters as the Queen might submit to its deliberations." The Bishop of St. David's seconded this motion. Strangely enough, only the

Bishop of Winchester offered a faint objection—an objection that did not go to a vote. In supporting the motion, the Bishop of Oxford made a speech, from which we extract a few passages:—

"He looked forward to a plan of reform arising from their own body to be laid before the Crown and the Church at large, in order that it might be ascertained—not whether an antiquated body, with uncertain rules and an imperfect representation of the Church, could probably undertake the great questions which were to be settled, but whether the Church of England had the power, under the sanction of the Sovereign, of settling anything for herself, or whether she was to take the humiliating attitude of saying that either there was such a want of spiritual wisdom in her community, or such deep internal discords amongst her members, that it was impossible for her alone, of any body temporal or spiritual of which she had any knowledge, in any way to provide for emergent necessities by new legislation. When they considered that the last Church law for the Church's regulation was something like two centuries old, and that in that time the population of England had increased, he dared not say how many fold, he for one thought, without entering into detail, a sufficient case was made out why some internal action should be needful for the Church; but if they considered how the Church was circumstanced—that she had definite rubrics for ritual observances, and that whilst to carry out perfectly the ritual as defined by those rubrics would, probably, in almost every populous district, give rise to injurious commotions and disturbances, on the other hand, the ministers of the Church were bound by the most solemn obligations to observe those rubrics and that ritual, and that no authority was alleged to exist anywhere for dispensing with the stringency of any one of those rubrics, they would see, that just in proportion as the ministers of the Church became more conscientious, more alive to their responsibilities, more awake to what they had engaged to perform, the yoke imposed on them, by requiring them to declare that they would administer the ritual in one way, whilst they were practically obliged to administer it in another, in the absence of any dispensing power, became most intolerable to the consciences of thinking men. . . . Those who disregarded the Church's ordinances that they might meet the requirements of the time would naturally look on the lovers of order as bigots, whilst those who observed the Church's strict orders would look upon them as enthusiasts; and that instead of the Church joining harmoniously together in the common service of God, those who dearly loved her rule of order, and those who would gladly spend their hearts' blood to save the souls of those committed to her charge, she would, by keeping to an impossible rule, divide those who should be united, and introduce into her own body all the evils of the worst dissensions. And from those evils, in his opinion, might emanate evils still higher; because there would arise a suspicion that these external differences were the result of a real and vital difference of belief; that, instead of the Church being able to defend or explain, as need might be, her doctrinal statements, she was bound by a rigid and unalterable external law to words which might be explained away until they meant, everything to one man and nothing to another; and persons who, from a different constitution of mind, merely saw the same truths in a different relation to other truths, would suspect each other of mutual insincerity."

"Thus, instead of being able, as he conceived they could do, to ascertain the great common ground of truth from which, with the fullest confidence in each other's honesty, they could teach the same truth in certain different relations to other truths, they would be led to believe that each ought not to belong to the common band, and so would spread distrust and hatred in what ought to be the united body of Christ's people. He feared another evil, which he thanked God they had not yet reached."

"Dim shapes of evil possible in the future, had, when meditating on this subject, passed before his eyes—that as truth was the foundation of all revealed religion, and that as moral honesty and truth must lie below every particular revelation, the time might come when even that true basis of all teaching might be endangered. For although there might be a different mode of viewing the relation as one common truth to other truths, the moment they came to the conviction that they disagreed fundamentally as to truth, it must be dishonest in them to continue united in the common teaching body. They might agree to differ with their brethren in the modes of stating many things, but not as to fundamental truth. If they were to agree that the Church might combine parties who fundamentally differed, they would be agreeing to a dishonest position; and he thought that the greatest evil of all, because they would really become the sappers of the moral honesty of the most morally honest people whom he believed God had given to the training of His Church. To prevent the occurrence of this evil, he thought there was a fundamental necessity that the Church should have the power of acting most gravely, most deliberately, most slowly, and by the fairest possible representation of the whole body, each in their respective parts—the clergy in their part, the laity in their part—so as to adopt her institutions and organisation to the needs of the existing time, and so as freely to discuss points of difference."

To this motion even the Archbishop assented; saying, indeed, that he did not expect good from convocation, but giving way "under present circumstances." Accordingly the committee was appointed without dissent.

The next matter provoked more opposition, but it was carried. It was the appointment of a committee to consider and report "whether the great increase and present condition of the population does not make some, and what, adaptations of the Church's rule needful to meet the Church's needs."

To each of these committees seven members of the Lower House were to be added.

The Lower House met at the same time as the Upper; but it did less. The real work consisted in

the appointment of a standing orders' committee, and a committee to consider *gravamina* and *reformanda*. Mr. Archdeacon Denison did not propose his resolutions respecting the necessity of professional training for holy orders; but he made a speech about it. Then the prolocutor was summoned to the Upper House. He returned with the two resolutions appointing committees; and with something of the nature of a command to the Lower House to nominate two sets of seven members each to consult with the bishops' committees. When it was understood that the Upper House "directed" the appointment of the members, the insubordinate spirit of Mr. Archdeacon Denison could not brook such tyranny. He was in favour of reviving convocation, everybody knew that; but he would not do it by a "*coup d'eglise*." And the Low Church party, ever on the alert, seeing Mr. Denison's defection on a point of form, immediately began to talk of resisting the dictation of the Upper House. Out of doors, it would be seen that their alleged deliberative functions were a sham. One after another, the opposition speakers came forward—the Dean of Bristol, Archdeacon Sinclair, the Archdeacon of Ely, the Reverend Hayward Cox, the Reverend Montagu Villiers—they would refuse to obey the Upper House. On a division, however, there was a majority of 89 to 43, and the committees were appointed.

Both Houses were then prorogued until the 30th June.

The York Convocation met only to be prorogued. This time, however, they were admitted to the Chapter House.

LORD PALMERSTON AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

THE great movement in behalf of the pariah children of the poor swells in volume and strength as it rapidly surges upward. On Wednesday there was a most remarkable gathering at the Home-office—a sort of essence of many public meetings set before Lord Palmerston. The deputation from the great Birmingham conference went on him; and some of the names of that deputation will show the reader how weighty it was. There were the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Harrowby, Lord Lyttelton, Lord R. Grosvenor, M.P., Lord Lovaime, M.P., Sir J. Pakington, M.P., Lord Calthorpe, the Hon. A. Kinaird, M.P., the Hon. H. Liddell, M.P., Mr. Spooner, M.P., Mr. W. Brown, M.P., Mr. Adderley, M.P., Mr. C. W. Packe, M.P., Mr. M. Milnes, M.P., Mr. E. Greaves, M.P., Mr. Smith Child, M.P., Mr. Scholfield, M.P., Mr. J. Ball, M.P., Mr. H. A'Court, M.P., Mr. Bass, M.P., Mr. T. A. McGeachy, the Recorder of Birmingham, the Recorder of Plymouth, the Recorder of Ipswich, the Rev. J. Clay, of Preston, the Rev. Sydney Turner, of the Philanthropic Farm School, Red-hill, and Mr. William Morgan, town-clerk of Birmingham, the honorary secretaries of the conference, together with the Hon. and Rev. Grantham Yorke, Mr. C. Ratcliff, the Mayor of Birmingham, the Mayor of Kidderminster, and Mr. Samuel Gurney, jun.

Sir John Pakington said they waited on his lordship as a deputation appointed at a conference which had been recently held at Birmingham on the subject of the present state and practice of the law in this country in reference to juvenile criminals, and they were desired to submit to his lordship a memorial which he held in his hand, and which, he trusted, would be the means, through his lordship's intervention, of calling the attention of her Majesty's Government to the imperative necessity for some legislative action on this important and interesting question. He would, with his lordship's permission, briefly state the purport of the memorial which embodied the resolutions passed at the conference held on the 29th of December last, in reference to the legislative action imperatively called for in our national treatment of destitute and criminal children. The memorialists stated they were "of opinion that the prevention and cure of juvenile delinquency was a question of such pressing importance, that they had, from a variety of circumstances, been led to take a deep and active interest in it, with a view to the discovery of its causes and results, and the remedies which are applicable." The memorial then went on to say that they concurred in the resolution of the select committee of the House of Commons, "that a large proportion of the present aggregate of crime might be prevented, and thousands of miserable human beings, who have before them, under the present system, nothing but a hopeless career of vice and wickedness, might be converted into virtuous, honest, and industrious citizens, if care were taken to rescue them from the dangers and temptations incident to their position." It then went on to state that every encouragement ought to be given to reformatory institutions for children convicted of crime or habitual vagrancy. They next urged that powers should be given by the Government to counties and boroughs to contract with the managers of such institutions for the education and maintenance of criminal children, and further, that powers should be conferred on the magis-

trates to send such children to these institutions for a period sufficient for reformatory or industrial training. In addition to this, they submitted that, as a check to any possible encouragement being offered to parental negligence, a portion of any child's maintenance at a reformatory institution should be, under certain circumstances, recoverable from the parents, and that power should also be taken to apprentice children to various trades, and to adopt such other means as might be deemed necessary to enable them to commence a life of industry. The prayer of the memorial was, that her Majesty's Government would originate and support such measures as might be deemed practicable in the course of the present session to carry these objects into effect. Such were the principal points of the memorial, and he was sure it was unnecessary for him, on the part of the deputation, to call his lordship's attention to the increasing power and growth of public opinion on this question. The question was one of great importance at all times, but especially so at the present moment in this country, under the great social change which had taken place in the system of secondary punishments—a change brought about under his lordship's advice and sanction. The nature of that change made it imperative, as a matter of State policy, to adopt measures which would cut off the sources from which these criminals had been so largely supplied. (Hear, hear.) But apart from mere considerations of State policy, he would add there were the higher considerations of Christian benevolence, which ought to induce them to engage in the cause. It was his duty, on behalf of the deputation, to urge upon his lordship, as the representative of the Government, the necessity of their affording to these institutions their countenance and support, because many of the institutions established in this country on the voluntary principle had the greatest difficulty in maintaining their position. He had been informed that the oldest institution in the country, that at Stretton Dunsmore, Warwickshire, which had been established in 1818, was about to be discontinued, unless gentlemen came forward with pecuniary support. He sincerely hoped that such support would be given; but the inference that Government must take up the question was obvious.

Lord Robert Grosvenor said that, as the representative of the Middlesex magistrates, he had to assure his lordship that the subject had occupied much of their attention. They had some time ago prepared a bill on this subject, but they had withdrawn it in the hope that a general measure would be introduced by the Government. If, however, the Government declined to take on themselves the responsibility, it would be his duty to submit the measure to which he had alluded to the consideration of the House during the present session.

The Hon. Mr. Liddell said, he had been entrusted with a petition, signed by the Mayor of Liverpool, on behalf of a most numerous and influential meeting on this subject, which expressed opinions and wishes similar to those contained in the memorial to which his lordship's attention had been drawn. He was also aware that in other parts of the kingdom the same strong feeling existed, and meetings having the same object in view had been held; one of which, he might add, had been held in the important town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Mr. M. D. Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, stated that he had been requested to communicate with all the recorders of England with the view of ascertaining their opinions on this question, and the result was that in no single case had he received a dissenting opinion—(hear, hear)—while from many of them, including the Recorder of London, he had received replies announcing their intention of affording every assistance in their power in carrying a measure so imperatively demanded. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Lovaine, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, the Earl of Harrowby, Mr. J. Ball, Mr. Adderley, and Mr. Monckton Milnes, then severally addressed his lordship briefly in support of the prayer of the memorial, and bore testimony to the strong feeling which prevailed in various parts of the country in favour of the measure.

Lord Palmerston said, as far as the weight to be attached to the memorial was concerned, it was unnecessary for him to say that the respectable and influential deputation he had the honour to receive was a pretty good proof of the weight to be attached to the resolutions adopted by the conference which they represented. It was, however, he might add, quite unnecessary that any weight of this sort should be thrown into the balance, because the question itself was of such interest and importance that the memorial must have made a sufficiently strong impression on the mind of any man who had been accustomed to consider such matters. No other recommendation to him was necessary than the tone of the resolutions of the committee alluded to, and he was quite confident that the question was one of the most important that could exercise the attention of the Government—because it was found that unless we could devise some method of informing the minds of our

juvenile delinquents, we must be driven to some further mode of punishment, and punishments inflicted upon persons of immature years very seldom left a beneficial impression. The change in the system of secondary punishments to which the right hon. baronet (Sir J. Pakington) had alluded made it imperative on the Government to take some steps to get at the source of the evil. He was quite aware that it was hopeless that this object could be attained by private members of Parliament; it was in itself far too complicated, and it was especially hopeless that it could be effected by private efforts in the present state of Parliamentary business. But he would go further; he would willingly admit that it was the duty of the Government to undertake the task—and he would add that he felt that it was his duty to do so. (Applause.) He would do so—and he hoped to receive the advice in the matter—not of the whole of the deputation, certainly—(laughter)—but of those members present who had turned their attention practically to the question; and he hoped, with their assistance, and especially that of the right hon. baronet (Sir J. Pakington) and the noble earl (the Earl of Shaftesbury), this session would not elapse without the passing of such a measure as would put a stop to this great and growing evil. (Great applause.)

The deputation then withdrew, highly gratified, not only with the reception accorded to them by the noble lord, but with the decided expression of his sentiments on the question.

POLITICAL BANQUETS.

PROPERLY speaking, the Parliamentary campaign opened on Monday night; for then Ministers and their Opponents entertained select sections of their supporters at dinner. At the table of Lord Aberdeen Ministers chiefly were present; but there were besides, Lord Grey, Lord Ashburton, Lord Beaumont, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Yarborough. The dinner at Lord John Russell's partook of the same character. At both the mover and seconder of the Address, in each House of Parliament, were present.

The Opposition mustered at the houses of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli.

Lord Derby's party comprised thirty peers:—The Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Exeter, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl of Cardigan, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Lonsdale, the Earl of Verulam, the Earl of Desart, the Earl of Malmesbury, the Earl of Wilton, the Earl Talbot, the Earl of Winchelsea, the Earl Delawarr, the Earl of Glengall, the Earl of Stradbroke, the Earl of Donoughmore, Viscount Combermere, Viscount Strangford, Lord de Ros, Lord Southampton, Lord Redesdale, Lord Colchester, Lord St. Leonard's, and Lord Colville.

Mr Disraeli entertained a party of the members of the House of Commons, including the Earl of March, Viscount Mandeville, the Marquis of Chandos, Lord John Manners, Lord Barrington, Lord Stanley, Lord Lovaine, Lord Naas, the Hon. Henry Liddell, Sir J. S. Pakington, Mr. S. H. Walpole, Sir John Yarde Buller, Sir W. H. Jolliffe, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Sir Frederic Thesiger, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Mr. Alderman Thompson, Mr. Miles, Mr. George Hamilton, and Mr. Cairns.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

LETTER CX.

Paris, Thursday Evening, Feb. 2, 1854.

M. DE KISSELEFF has just had an interview with Mr. Drouyn de l'Huys. I am able to give you a substantial abstract of the explanations of the French Government. "In the diplomatic note of October 27th ult., Russia was warned that if she resorted to any fresh act of aggression upon the Ottoman territory, the two fleets would enter into the Black Sea to protect that territory. Russia, by the attack of Sinope, has, in spite of that warning, violated the said territory. The entry of the fleets into the Black Sea is consequently the carrying into effect of the previous declaration. To the question presented by Russia, whether France preserves her neutrality or is making war, the French Government has nothing to reply, except to refer to the before-mentioned note of October 27." The person from whom I have these details is in a position to be exactly informed, and you may consider this to be the actual substance of the reply of the French Government to the demand for explanations. The departure of M. de Kisseleff has been warmly discussed at the Bourse: there are many who doubt it altogether. I know pertinently that he leaves Paris this evening, for Brussels.

For the last week M. de Kisseleff has been the man of the "largest personal following" in Paris: he has been the observed of all, hunted down from dawn to dusk by anxious eyes and credulous ears. You would have thought all Paris were his creditors, from the affectionate interest displayed in his whereabouts and whatabouts. It has been affirmed that every banker, every heavy jobber, had a paid *employé*, or

servant, in the Russian embassy for the sake of "special information." Such information is in value something like being "in the secret of the stables." The *Charioteer* has adroitly made pleasant capital out of this absurdity, announcing officially to its readers that it has the *portress* of M. de Kisseleff in its pay.

Certainly; not a step, not a gesture, not a word of that unfortunate Muscovite lachelor, condemned to return to his own country, but has been published, commented, explained, interpreted in a thousand ways at once. If M. de Kisseleff sneezed, the optimists said that all was well, and they are always the majority; the pessimists, on the contrary, maintain that all is lost; but they are not listened to. True, they have had the misfortune to be in the right hitherto, and while everything goes on for the best in this best possible of worlds, it does not seem likely that they will be in the wrong for some time yet. You may presume that M. de Kisseleff leaves Paris; you may equally presume that he will go no farther than Brussels. . . .

It seems the provincial *gobemouches* in remote parts of Great Britain have been alarming each other with preposterous stories of Prince Albert being sent to the Tower. Our provincial donkeys have been opening their long ears at rumours scarcely less absurd—*à propos* of the *coup-de-main* said to be in preparation by the Legitimists. These rumours are fun to Paris, but death to departmental functionaries, as you will perceive. At Puy (capital of the department of the Haute-Loire), a "good-natured friend" of the Mayor came, last Sunday morning, to bring him the confidential tidings that the Emperor had taken refuge in Vincennes with 4000 men, leaving the metropolis in the hands of the Legitimists.

Thereupon panic of the Mayor. The Mayor runs all amazed and aghast to the Prefect, and asks him whether he has had any intelligence? The Prefect replies "No," and requests the Mayor to explain himself. The Mayor tells all he knows. The terrified Prefect, seeing himself out of place, loses his wits, runs to the General of Brigade in command of the department, and to the Procureur Impérial; and there are all the authorities of Puy tumbling over one another, and crying out, "We are done for, what is to become of us?" At last a *Conseiller de Préfecture* suggests an appeal to the signal-telegraph. After five mortal hours of awful suspense (it was Sunday) down comes a reply from Persigny to the Prefect, that the Prefect is an ass: that unless he finds out the author of the rumour he will lose his situation. This made the Prefect change his key. Instead of chiming in with the general lamentation, he summoned the Mayor to name his informant. The Mayor resisted: the Prefect threatened. The Mayor of Puy and his whole Municipal Council resigned. Their resignation appears in the *Moniteur*.

It appears that similar stories were afloat in other departments.

The Bourse has fallen to-day to 67—the quotation of the Republic. As for the Bank, exhausted by the drain for the purchases of corn, it has been forced this week to refuse half the bills which have been presented for discount.

All commercial affairs at a stand-still in Paris and in the provinces: where the workmen are not discharged, they are only working half time. It is impossible to conceal the gravity of such a state of things in this country, where famine and commercial difficulty have always been the precursors of political troubles. . . . S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

A DECREE in the *Moniteur* has called into active service the young soldiers yet disposable of the second portion of the contingent of the class of 1851.

The naval and military preparations for war are proceeding in France with the greatest activity. It is certain that an expeditionary corps is in course of organisation, to occupy Constantinople, so as to enable the whole disposable forces of the Turks to operate on the Danube and in Asia. Should the Russians, however, cross the Danube the French would probably defend the Balhaus. The effective of the expeditionary corps would probably be in the first instance 80,000 men, in four divisions.

Sir Stephen Lakeman, who commanded the Waterkloof Rangers at the Cape of Good Hope, where he obtained such a brilliant reputation, arrived in Paris some days ago on his way to Constantinople to take the command of a large body of troops in Asia. Before he left Paris he had a long interview with the Minister of War and Marshal Magnan, to whom he gave a full description of the revolving carbine, with which a part of his corps *d'armée* in Asia is to be armed. This weapon is said to be one of long range and unerring accuracy. It is not so heavy as might be supposed, as there is only one barrel with five chambers. In the hands of good marksmen the Russian regiments may soon be unofficered. Sir Stephen was permitted by the Minister of War and Marshal Magnan to be present at the drills of the *Chasseurs de Vincennes*, and all the military authorities were very attentive to him. A great number of Polish and other officers have left France during the last few days for Constantinople to offer their services, it being now understood that no more objections will be made to receive them, the Turkish Minister of War having recommended that the army of Asia shall be better supplied with officers than it is now.

A split in the French ministry is again spoken of, M. Fould still advocating concession to Russia, for the sake of financial interests, and M. de Persigny, with all the rest of the Ministers, except perhaps M. Magne, insisting on resistance and war.

On Wednesday the police paid a domiciliary visit to an establishment called the Bureau de l'Agence Etrangère, in the Boulevard des Italiens. The authorities had received notice that the secret agents of Russia were in the habit of meeting at that place to receive at all hours of the day from their superiors the *notes d'ordre*, which they forthwith proceeded to hawk about at the Bourse, and in the *cafés* and clubs. Several papers were seized, but no prisoners were made.

M. de Kisseleff, the latest accounts state, was to leave for Brussels this day. He has a discretionary *congé* from M. de Nesselrode. It is said that Baron Brunow retires to Darmstadt. M. de Kisseleff declined an invitation to the palace a few evenings since, but on Tuesday evening he was present with a great number of Russians at the brilliant *début* of Madame Petrovitch Walker, at the Italian Opera, in *Lucrezia Borgia*. This *début* occasioned peculiar interest, not only from the beauty of the *débütante*, but her reputation as an artist of the highest qualities, and on account of her high descent. She is granddaughter of Prince George of Servia.

Prince Jérôme gave a ball at the Palais Royal on Sunday last, at which the Emperor and Empress were present. His son, Napoleon Jérôme, left Paris for Brussels on Monday morning, and has been received with particular distinction by the Royal Family of Belgium.

H.I.H. the Prince Napoleon, who, as stated yesterday, has left Paris for Brussels, was attended by Colonel Desmarests, his aide-de-camp, and by several officers of his household. The Prince de Chimay was in the same train. At Quivrain, on the Belgian frontier, the Prince was received by General Charas. At Mons, the troops of the garrison were drawn up, and the authorities presented their congratulations. He was met at the frontier by M. de Sampaio, the French Secretary of Legation, with an *attaché*. Orders had been given to treat the Prince with all the honours prescribed by the imperial decree of the 24th Messidor in the year XII. when receiving foreign princes.

At the station all the civil and military authorities, with the French Minister and his *attachés*, awaited the arrival of the train. The Duc de Brabant came in a state carriage, accompanied by his own and his father's aide-de-camp. At 20 minutes to three, when the train was signalled, the drums beat, the bands of the two regiments played the "Brabançonne," the troops presented arms, and the standards made the customary salutes. The Prince wore the uniform of a Lieutenant-General, with the plate of the Legion of Honour.

The Prince, led by the Duke, then passed the troops in review, when M. de Brouckere was presented. At three the procession started for the Palace of Brussels; it was composed of four court equipages. In the second carriage, drawn by four court-horses, sat the Prince and the Duke, on either side of which two officers rode with drawn swords. The fifth carriage was the French Ambassador's, and a squadron of Guides opened and closed the procession.

The cortege passed through the principal streets of the city, which were thronged with spectators. At the palace his Majesty King Leopold came to receive his guest at the top of the grand staircase of honour, and after a rather long interview, the Prince retired to his own apartments. The dinner at the Court was laid for fifty guests. The King, assisted by the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, did the honours. In the evening the Duke introduced the Prince to the ball of the noble concert at Vauxhall.

On Tuesday, Prince Napoleon visited the chief monuments of the capital. At half-past one the Prince repaired to Sainte-Gudule, at two o'clock to the Hotel de Ville, and then to the Library of Bourgogne.

In the evening, after dinner, which took place in the Castle of Laeken, the Prince, with the Duke and Duchess, assisted at the representation given by the Grand Harmonic Society at the Theatre Royal of the Mint.

This visit of Prince Napoleon Jerome, heir presumptive to the Empire, has given rise to various speculations. The change in the mutual relations of the Belgian and French Courts, and of the Bonaparte and Coburg families, which this event appears to mark, gives to it a real importance. It is affirmed that it was at the special request of King Leopold that the visit was undertaken, "it being the wish of his Majesty to make a public demonstration of the good footing upon which he stands with France, and of the falsehood of the reports which attributed to him the character of an agent and partisan of Russia. Prince Napoleon is instructed to enforce upon his Majesty the necessity of showing to the world that he gives his cordial and unsuspected support to the Allied Powers in the Russian affair."

We must not omit to remind our readers that his "Imperial Highness" was the ultra-republican member of the National Assembly for whom nothing was "red" enough. It proves that republican princes make apt converts.

We are in possession of authentic accounts respecting the movements of the combined fleets up to the 15th ult. The expedition, with troops and munitions, had safely arrived at Batoum, touching at Sinope on the 14th, on its return. It there communicated to the combined fleets that an attack of the Russian fleet was much dreaded at Batoum; and then it returned without delay to Constantinople, the wind being favourable, in order to take in fresh troops and ammunition. This expedition consisted of six Turkish and six Anglo-French vessels. On the morning of 14th a division of the combined fleets weighed anchor, and set sail for Batoum. The remainder of the fleet was left at Sinope. In the afternoon of the same day two steamers were sent to Batoum to signalise, and one steamer was despatched to Constantinople.

By despatches from Constantinople, dated the 23rd ult., we learn that the combined fleets returned on the 22nd to the Bosphorus, and brought up in their former anchorage at Beycos, to the general astonishment of the people of Constantinople. It was believed that they were preparing to convey more troops to the Asiatic coast. The admirals had received at Sinope by the *Caton* pressing orders to protect the Turkish flag, and to send back all Russian ships to Sebastopol.

Nothing had been seen of the enemy; but one report stated them to be cruising off the straits leading into the Sea of Azoff, and another to be between Caffa and Theodosia on the coast of Anatolia.

The despatch announcing the arrival of the combined fleets at Constantinople requires confirmation. We are disposed to believe that it may turn out to be the division which conveyed the Turkish transports back from Batoum to Constantinople.

Lord Dudley Stuart has been entertained with distinguished honours by Omar Pasha at Schumla, and by Mehmet Pasha, the governor of Adrianople. At Constantinople he was engaged in furthering the interests of the Poles desirous of entering the Turkish service.

M. Branski, a retired colonel of the Piedmontese army, in which he commanded the regiment of Casale, had left Constantinople for Kars as a traveller. The Divan, however, had ordered that this superior officer should be received with the honours due to a general of brigade. Another Sardinian officer, Count Stradin had joined the staff of Omar Pasha at Schumla.

WAR SYMPTOMS AT HOME.

THE Government are turning their attention to the defences of the south-coast. Several troops of artillery have arrived at Eastbourne, and taken possession of the Martello towers and the fort, which is being prepared for active service and defensive operations. It has also been determined to fortify the western side of Littlehampton harbour, and the new battery which is to be constructed in the parish of Climping has been contracted for, Messrs. Locke and Nesham being the contractors. On the western side of Newhaven harbour also works are about to be erected, the site to be Castle-hill, a peculiar geological formation resting on the chalk, or rather on the Coomb rock which covers it, and which is almost unique in the locality. The Gosport defences are also being strengthened.

The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade have received a communication from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, requesting that instructions may be given for the shipping masters throughout the United Kingdom to be placed in communication with the several officers in charge of the naval rendezvous at the respective ports, and that they may be directed to afford every assistance in their power towards the entry of seamen for her Majesty's service. Their lordships are desirous of promoting to their utmost extent the wishes of the Admiralty, and have requested the co-operation of the Commissioners of Customs for that purpose.

About fifty tons of medical stores, from the naval hospital at Haslar, were sent out from Southampton, on Friday, by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's steam ship *Rajah*, to the British fleet in the Black Sea. These stores were contained in 250 packages, and their contents comprised everything that would be necessary after a naval action, such as crutches, knee-caps, bandages, apparatus and instruments for surgical operations, and every requisite for gun-shot wounds, &c.

The Admiralty have called for tenders for the supply of 14,000 tons of coal, to be delivered at Malta in a short time, for the supply of the fleet.

Gun-boat armaments have been sent to Constantinople by the two last Black Sea steamers which have left Southampton.

Captain N. L. Sheringham, the commissioner for the western district, visited Barnstaple, in the north of Devon, last week, and addressed the sailors of the port at the custom-house. The gallant captain was received most enthusiastically, and his spirited observations were well received. He told the sailors that he had visited most of the outposts, from the Isle of Wight to the Land's End, and he was proud to say that he had experienced the utmost alacrity in all classes of seamen to defend their hearths and homes.

Captain Craigie on Friday week visited Lossiemouth, where he enrolled 27 men, and Binghead, where 20 names were added. At Nairn a most enthusiastic meeting was held on Saturday, and in less than 20 minutes 43 fine young men enrolled themselves. The fishermen in the districts passed through by Captain Craigie are sending on additional names. Twelve others have volunteered in Buckie, making 86 from that town. There are now enrolled in all 599 fishermen, of whom 332 are resident at stations on the south shore of the Moray Firth, and 181 on the Banffshire coast alone.

In Ireland the raising of the Coast Guard Volunteers goes on well. A Limerick paper says:—

"Captain Jerningham, R.N., commanding Royal Navy Coast Volunteers, returned from an official tour of the coast on Monday, including Tarbert, Kilrush, Carrigahol, and Galway. He met considerable success in his coast tour, and was heard with respect and even pleasure when addressing

the hardy fishermen of the western coast, and explaining the duties and advantages of the new marine service. He was much gratified at the good feeling everywhere displayed, and had the satisfaction of numbering 252 able-bodied and expert men, young and middle-aged, for enrolment. In Galway this was more especially manifest, and on his visit to the primitive colony located in the Claddagh district, the women, with a courage and devotion worthy of patriotic heroines, exclaimed, 'not only will our men enter with you, but our sons also, and if any of the tribe refuses the service, never fear, as we'll shame them into it, by offering ourselves as volunteers.' Such was the noble sentiment of the Claddagh women, and the fishermen cheered in response to the appeal of Captain Jerningham, 'so happily wound up by the characteristic ardour of Irishwomen, when they learnt that their Island Queen requires the aid of her loyal Irish subjects.'

Great stress has been laid upon the advantages Russia would gain by delay, but a short retrospective and prospective view of what was done last year, and will be done this year, in commissioning for active service line-of-battle screw steam-ships, must satisfy the public that the advantages of delay in entering upon war are nearly ten to one in favour of Great Britain. The present Russian fleets have been the work of years, while during the past year Great Britain has completed and commissioned the following powerful screw steam-ships:—The Duke of Wellington, 131, in February, 1853; the St. Jean d'Acre, 101, in May, 1853; the Royal George, 120, in October, 1853; the Princess Royal, 90, in October, 1853; and the Cressy, 80, in December, 1853. In the present year, although one month has only just expired, three line-of-battle screw steam-ships have been commissioned,—the James Watt, 90, in January, 1854; the Caesar, 90, in January, 1854; and the Nile, 90, on February, 2, 1854; and within a few more months the following, now nearly ready, will be commissioned, if required:—The Royal Albert, 131, to be launched in April next; the Marlborough, 131; the Hannibal, 90, launched at Deptford; the Orion, 90, ready for launching at Chatham; the Algiers, 90, at Devonport; the Majestic, 80, fitting at Sheerness; and the Irresistible, 80, in an advanced state at Chatham. In January, 1853, the Agamemnon, 91; the Sanspareil, 70; and the Imperieuse, 50, were the only large screw steam-ships in commission, as the blockships for guarding the naval ports and the other description of screw steam-frigates have not been included in the above detail of the naval resources of this country.

STRIKES AND WAGES—THE CONFERENCE AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

OUR readers already know that the Council of the Society of Arts, desirous of helping to settle the questions in dispute between masters and men, invited a large number of operatives, masters, and gentlemen interested in the subject, to meet in conference at the rooms of the Society in the Adelphi. The summons was readily obeyed by the working men, and at the meeting, on Monday, they mustered strongly in their places; but the masters shirked the question, and the Preston manufacturers only sent one, their secretary, Mr. Ainsworth, and he said he was only there by accident. There were, however, a number of the employers of labour present, not belonging to any organization. The following is a list comprising most of the persons present, and the names of the trades delegates' associations:—W. B. Adams, D. Ainsworth, W. Ainsworth, W. Aitken, T. Allan, J. Anderson, J. G. Appold, Dr. C. Arnot, T. Atkins, A. J. Ayrton, J. Barker, J. Benbow, Dr. Booth, — Boroman, C. Bray, J. Caird, J. Campbell, A. Campbell, J. Cassell, W. Charley, H. Chester, D. K. Clark, — Clark, Sir W. Clay, Bart., M.P., W. B. Collins, T. Cooper, G. Cottam, G. Cowell, H. B. Cowell, J. H. Crampton, J. Douthwaite, Rev. J. L. Davies, G. Dawson, M.A., A. E. Delafosse, J. D. Devlin, J. Dillon, A. Doull, Viscount Elmley, R. Esery, J. Finch, J. T. Flynn, Rev. J. Forster, R. Fort, F. S. Furnivall, M. A. Garvey, W. Gillander, Viscount Goderich, M.P., H. Gressell, — Grosvenor, J. Hambleton, Rev. S. C. H. Hansard, L. J. Hansard, D. W. Harvey, W. Hawes, J. H. Heal, M. Heal, J. Henderson, J. Hicks, W. Hickson, E. Hill, C. Hindley, M.P., T. Hodgkin, G. J. Holyoake, George Hooper, G. W. Hooper, Thornton Hunt, H. A. Ivory, J. B. Jackson, T. Jackson, Jennens and Bettridge, G. Johnson, A. Jones, L. Jones, S. Kidd, T. Lambert, Captain Lefroy, — Lobb, A. H. Lewis, J. M. Ludlow, J. G. Maitland, — Matthews, Rev. F. D. Maurice, T. Maudslay, I. J. Mechi, J. Medwin, H. Merivale, — Miller, G. Myers, E. Vansittart Neale, — Newberg, R. S. Newall, E. Newman, W. Newton, — Ordish, R. Owen, W. Parc, H. Parker, — Pease, Dr. Perfit, D. Power, Professor Pryme, J. Radford, G. Read, C. Reeves, E. D. Reynolds, M. Ricardo, J. Rigby, W. Rule, J. E. Saunders, jun., — Shanks, W. Shaw, T. Shorter, P. A. Slaney, J. B. Smith, M.P., Sidney Smith, Lord Stanley, M.P., C. Sturgeon, C. Sully, — Thompson, W. J. Thurston, T. Tooke, F.R.S., Right Hon. H. Tufnell, M.P., W. F. Vernon, Hon. G. Waldegrave, R. Walker, Sir J. Walsley, Bart., M.P., J. Watson, J. Weddell, W. A. Wilkinson, M.P., Captain Wilmott, E. M. Whitty,

F. Wilson, T. Winkworth, G. F. Wilson, W. Wood, J. W. Wrey, C. Wright, — Wyndham.
 Birmingham: Glass Cutters' Association, Iron Moulders' Society, Wire-drawing Trade Society, Coventry: Ribbon Weavers' Association. Dover: Chamber of Commerce. Hanley: Chamber of Commerce. Hartlepool: Seamen's Association. Leicester: Hosiery Trade Society. Liverpool: Trades Guardian Society. London: Basket Makers' Society, Biscuit Bakers' Society, Boiler Makers' Society, Bookbinders' Society, Bootmakers' Society, Brassfounders' Society, Brush Makers' Society, Cabinet Makers' Society, Carpenters' Society, Carpenters' Society, Carpenters' and Joiners' Society, Carpenters' and Joiners' Progressive Society, Cigar Makers' Society, Coopers' (Dock) Society, Cork Cutters' Society, Carriers' Society, Engineers' (Amalgamated) Society, Hatters' Society, Iron Moulders' Society, Law Amendment Society, Painters' Society, Painters' (house) Society, Shoemakers' Society, Shoemakers' (co-operative) Society, Tailors' (co-operative) Society, Tailors' Society, Tailors' (working) Joint-Stock Company, Tin Plate Workers' Society, Typefounders' Society, Weavers' Society, Artizans' Society, Committee of Working Men, Metropolitan Trades Committee, Amalgamated Committee in aid of Operatives, Eclectic Society, United Trades Association. Manchester: Boiler Makers' Society, Amalgamated Engineers Society, Fine Cotton Spinners' Society, Stone Masons' Society. Northwich: Salt Trade Society. Nottingham: Bleachers' Society. Preston: Weavers' Association. Stoke-upon-Trent: Chamber of Commerce. Wolverhampton: Tin Plate Workers' Society.

After Lord Robert Grosvenor, as chairman, had opened the proceedings, to the surprise of everybody, Mr. Ernest Jones got on his feet and proceeded to declaim, in his usual fashion, about the rights of labour. Requested to speak to the question, he replied by reading away at a long resolution of the most extravagant character, couched in language unfitted for any meeting. Had he been allowed to proceed, the Conference would have diverted from its purpose. The Chairman requested him not to read further; he insisted; the meeting covered his voice with cries of "Order" and "Chair;" and then, putting on his hat and denouncing the meeting, "in the name of the working classes," as one-sided, he was hissed out of the room. Having disposed of this nuisance, business commenced. The discussion was opened on these propositions:—

Combinations.—Are they objectionable, whether set on foot by employers or employed, as a means of influencing the value of labour? Would a law of limited liability in partnerships tend to render such combinations unnecessary? Do they remove the questions with which they deal from the privacy of ordinary trade management, and place them under public cognizance; and, if so, how may that publicity be most simply and effectually secured? Ought any legislative provision, or other arrangement, to be made by which the right of association, if obviously exercised to the detriment of the community, might be controlled or neutralised?

The main of the speaking took place upon this section. Mr. Slaney, late member for Shrewsbury, was the first speaker. He ably and conclusively advocated a law of limited liability in partnerships, as one means of preventing strikes. Mr. Aitken, of Ashton-under-Line, and Essery, both working men, defended combinations, denounced any attempt to renege the combination laws, and gave in their adhesion to a law of limited liability. Mr. Fort put the case of the masters. He thought that combinations were objectionable, because they suspended production, reduced the wages fund, induced fear instead of hope as the ruling motive, exhausted the savings of the operative classes, increased their debts, reduced the quantity of the labourers' fund, and excited untenable expectations, jealousy of superior wealth, and insubordination. As to the question of limited liability, if the operative had the necessary amount of capital it would be a favourable arrangement to prevent strikes; but, supposing the operative had not any capital, who was to bear the losses that occurred, or who was to pay for any new machinery that was introduced? Then all trades had their secrets; and how was silence to be preserved? If one operative examined the details, why not all? and a temptation might be offered to persons to make a profit of their knowledge. With regard to the next question, what grounds were there for thinking that the legislature understood the question better than the employer or employed?

Mr. Samuel Kidd supported, and Professor Pryme, of Cambridge, opposed combinations generally, but he thought they might be useful if no violence or "ridicule" were used against opponents.

Mr. William Newton thought that combinations were not objectionable, because they were necessary. The master did not deal with his men individually; when a reduction was made, it took place with respect to all the hands alike, and the men naturally consulted with each other respecting the amount of wages. Combination had not only arisen out of necessity, but had become a provident institution, and had prevented strikes over and over again, because it sometimes occurred that the employers gave

the amount of wages asked for, when they knew the men were in combination, and had a fund which would enable them to hold out against opposition. He could mention a case where men unable to work, or to obtain it, had received 60,000*l.* in the course of five years. The men so circumstanced, amounted to ten per cent. of the entire body; and each of them during those five years received at the rate of 20*l.* a year for his maintenance. Combination also enabled the workmen to occupy a more independent situation than they would otherwise have done, and enabled them to get employment by telling them where they could obtain a market for their labour.

Mr. John Petty, Mr. Gillender, Mr. Lee, all working men, strongly insisted on the necessity for combinations, admitting the right on both sides. Combinations, these affirmed do raise the wages of labour. Mr. Edwin Hill, Inspector of Postage Stamps, said the higgling of the market settled wages; but many of our laws operated mischievously to prevent a fair settlement of the value of labour. He argued for appointment of a commission.

Mr. Rowen had been a manufacturer for forty years, and during that period had had from 500 to 3000 persons in his employment. He was desirous of doing all he could to ameliorate the condition of his operatives, because in the situation he held he found that he was their tyrant, and they were his slaves. He had done all he could to diminish the condition of their slavery, but found, after his utmost exertions in that direction, they were still his slaves and he was their tyrant. It was not the fault of the masters or of the men that these contests had continually taken place; it was caused by the false position in which both were placed. He hoped he might live to see the time when there would be an end to this system of tyranny and slavery, but he was satisfied that if they sat there until that time next year they would not come to any satisfactory result between master and men so very injudiciously and so very unwisely placed. He made suggestions on the subject many years ago, which included education, and universal and beneficial employment.

Mr. Henderson (of the firm of Fox and Henderson) begged to express on his own part, as he was sure he could on the part of a large class of employers, that he had a strong feeling of sympathy with the working classes, and was desirous that the antagonism which had produced strikes should be put an end to, and some means devised by which the mutual relations of the employers and employed should be placed on a better footing. The interests of the working classes and of the employers, if properly arranged, were identical, and they would never be able to go on rightly until that was understood. He should prefer to put the question on the paper in this way—Would combinations, whether set on foot by masters or men, influence the value of labour? He thought they should go back to the principle of supply and demand; and thought it would be found that supply and demand would influence the value of labour. A man might for a few months get higher wages, but the result would be that things would come to their proper level. He would sooner excuse combination on the part of the workmen than on the part of the employers, because the employers were in possession of great control, the operatives were in an inferior position, and if they combined together and adopted a strike to accomplish their object, it might to a great extent be excused. He could offer no similar excuse on the part of the employers, for the employers had it all their own way, and were enabled by their combinations to inflict an enormous amount of misery upon those who were not guilty—who were not members of the trades union, and therefore not parties to the strike. If the matter was investigated, it might be found that the majority of the men belonging to the trades union were rather opposed to them than willing to join them; and the most objectionable feature in connection with combination was were they compelled unwilling persons to join them, by bringing force to bear upon them. At the same time, he was quite willing to bear his testimony that, so far as he knew and believed, in later times those things were conducted very much better. He admitted that an alteration in the law of liability would be very beneficial to the working classes, but he had no conception that it had an immediate bearing upon the question of combination. He had no apprehension about any want of secrecy, because, as occurred with regard to railway companies, a system could be invented to conduct those things in a way that would be beneficial.

Mr. L. Jones observed that some masters took advantage of there being a surplus amount of labour in the market, to pay less wages than the honourable master was disposed to do; but he believed the great majority of the masters would be willing to give good wages to the workmen, if they could do it with safety to themselves.

At the request of the chairman, the Secretary read a letter, which he had received from Mr. William Knott, a working shipwright, of Sunderland, and who was one of the chairmen of the Shipbuilders' and Shipwrights' Court of Arbitration, at Sunderland, stating the good results which had attended the operation of the society in the settlement of difficul-

ties which had arisen between the employers and employed.

Mr. Hindley, M.P., regretted that a larger number of employers of labour were not present to come forward with the same amount of boldness and good feeling as had characterised Mr. Henderson, and express their opinion on the present important subject. He did not think that there now existed the same amount of objection on the part of employers to combinations which once existed. What was objectionable in their opinion was the mode in which some of the combinations were conducted, and if he were to urge upon the workpeople one thing more than another, it would be to avoid everything considered objectionable in combinations and their actions. That working men had the most perfect right to combine, in order to raise their wages, no man could dispute; that working men had the right to intimidate other men to pay money into their funds, or to prevent others from working as they pleased, was a proposition which could only become a tyrant whether he was found in the ranks of the working men or of the employers. Mr. Hindley proceeded to state that he had himself avoided all connection with the combinations of employers of labour, and had throughout treated his workmen quite independently of the movements of other employers. With respect to the Preston strike, it resolved itself simply into a question between the employers of Blackburn and Preston, and would be settled to-morrow if the manufacturers of the latter place would only consent to give the same price as the former. He was surprised to find the *Times* constantly abusing Mr. Cowell—who, for the first time in his life, he now saw—as the great cause of the continuance of the present strike. He would tell the *Times* that Mr. Cowell was but the feather—and it would be as false to say that the feather was driving the wind, as that Mr. Cowell possessed the power which was assigned to him. The influence possessed by Mr. Cowell was given to him by circumstances, and he (Mr. Hindley) considered that the conduct of Mr. Cowell throughout had been highly creditable to him.

A resolution was then adopted with unanimity, that an alteration of the present law of partnership is desirable.

The next resolution was then read, for the purpose of discussion, viz.:—"Strikes and Lock-outs.—Should partial strikes, intended to take the masters of a locality in detail, be met by lock-outs? What other means are likely to be effectual in terminating them?"

Mr. Cowell (Preston) stated that, as far as the strikes at Preston bore on the proposition, there never had been any intention to take the masters in detail, and for this simple reason that the great majority of the masters had given the men what they wanted before the strike commenced. With respect to the question—what other means are likely to be effectual in terminating strikes and lock-outs?—he suggested three modes by which the present strike might be terminated. First, that the masters should be prepared to meet an equal number of operatives and masters, in order to discuss calmly the points in dispute, and see if they could not amicably settle the question; secondly, that the masters should consent to refer the difference to arbitration, each party having the right to choose an equal number, and to select some disinterested umpire; and thirdly, the employers might submit to tell their men what it is that they really want, a proposition which had been submitted, but which the masters had declined to accede to. Local boards of arbitration he thought would be exceedingly useful for the purpose of bringing disputes between masters and employed to an amicable settlement.

Mr. Beaumont (Preston) complained of the little courtesy which had been shown by the masters to the men in connection with the last strike, and contended that if another course had been adopted the difference would have long since been amicably settled.

Mr. Brown (Liverpool) stated that in the society with which he was connected, the Trades' Guardian Association, numbering between 30,000 and 40,000 men, there existed the strongest feeling against strikes, and the exertions of the society were directed to arbitrating upon difficulties that arose between the employers and the employed, and many differences of this sort had been most successfully adjusted. The trades in Liverpool were so good, and such had been the competition for labour among the shipwrights, that the wages of artificers of this class a short time since rose from 5*s.* to 15*s.* per day. He believed strikes to be most injurious to the interests of all classes. There were 40,000 workmen in Liverpool able to assist the poor lock-outs of Preston, and he was greatly surprised to find that while the workmen had come forward to state their case, none of the employers of labour at Preston had condescended to afford any explanation of their conduct. The workpeople of Liverpool would think over this circumstance, and they would conclude from it, no doubt, that the Preston employers were in the wrong.

Mr. Caleb Wright (Tilsley, manufacturer) sug-

gested that the Preston men should go to Manchester or Blackburn to seek employment. When that was proposed to be done it was likely that the masters would give increased wages lest all their men should leave them. That would be the more rational mode of settling the question.

Mr. Aitken observed, that in 99 cases out of 100 where strikes had taken place the fault was with the employers and not with the men. If the men went to Manchester or Blackburn to seek work, and were not employed, what were they to do? When they sent individuals to arbitrate with the employers on a question in dispute, they were met with contempt and insult, and with blackguardism on the part of some of the employers. He would not offend the ears of the meeting by repeating the language that had been used to him by some of those gentlemen.

Mr. Parr (Irish Engineering Works, Dublin) thought that if they had a limited law of liability, whereby workmen in an establishment would take an interest in the net profits, in the course of ten years they would see such a prosperous condition of things in the country as none of them could now anticipate.

The third topic, that relating to "wages," was not discussed, as time would not permit it. The meeting broke up about six o'clock, Lord Goderich moving, and Mr. Newton seconding, a vote of thanks to the chairman.

At the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, on Monday, Mr. Bright made some reasonable remarks upon the strike question:—

"He had lived long enough to know that all things in this world would not run very smoothly for very long together; and there were circumstances connected with men who were working ten or eleven hours a day for wages which led them almost necessarily to look at these questions in a rather different light from that in which they were presented to those who were in a very different position. There were matters connected with this strike which he was satisfied were consolatory, although there were others which were sufficiently discouraging. Mr. Ashworth had referred to the violence of former strikes. He remembered a strike in Rochdale, not many years ago, in the flannel trade, when he saw the machinery tumbled out of the windows into the streets, and riots took place. In the 1842 disturbance, when the plugs were drawn, he thought a much greater appreciation was shown on the part of the working classes of this district of the advantages of order. They did not wish to shackle public opinion, and damage their own character by the destruction of property. When they had almost complete possession of certain portions of this district, nobody was molested either in person or property to any serious extent. In the present case they appealed very much to public opinion, and they laid what they conceived to be facts before the public. He thought that was a considerable progress from the belligerence and follies of past times, towards that intelligence, under which we should be able to carry on our affairs without so much jarring and discontent. He was of opinion that the error which was committed, so far as the working man was concerned, was rather an error of precipitancy. He was satisfied that wherever there was a case, so that a strike should bring about an increase of wages which was likely to be at all permanent, the same increase of wages without a strike might in all probability be had within six or twelve months. They all knew perfectly well that, however successful a strike might be, if it extended over several weeks it inflicted an injury on the workmen which two or three years, if it was successful, might not atone for; and in any case, of course the employer and the capitalist, who had his fixed expenses, which were always heavy, would not make up the loss he had sustained for a considerable period. It was very common for persons discoursing on this subject to say that there was, no doubt, blame on both sides. He did not mean to say whether there was or not, and he would not undertake to be censor of either side. He did not look from exactly the same point of view as the manufacturers or the workmen of Preston did, but he was satisfied that their interests were closely connected, and that in a country like this, where the masters had a right to combine, and the men had a right to combine, the more cordial and more free the communication was between the employer and the workman in times of tranquillity, the more they were taught to look at the industrial interest of the country as the great source of prosperity to both classes, and the more would they be indisposed to fancy, at particular times, that their interests were antagonistic, and that somehow or other, one class might be very much benefited by a war of this nature, and the other not be ruined. Mr. Ashworth had spoken about the advantages enjoyed by Preston in being close to an agricultural district, but he could not understand how wages at Preston should be materially lower than at Blackburn, or Bolton, or anywhere else, because for 6d. or 1s. the workman might transfer himself to some other town in the neighbourhood where wages were higher, and this would gradually bring about an equalization."

SANITARY MOVEMENT AT OXFORD.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the heads of colleges, bursars, and others, who are members of the Board of Commissioners under the local act for regulating and improving the sanitary condition of Oxford, was held in the Council Chamber on Wednesday. The meeting was attended by the Vice-Chancellor, the Senior Proctor, the President of Corpus Christi College, the President of St. John's College, the Principal of Magdalen Hall, Rev. Dr. Bull, Canon of Christ Church; the Registrar of the University, E. W. Rowden, Esq.; Rev. J. Ley, Rev. R. C. Hales, Rector of the City Church, the Public Orator, Rev.

R. Michell; Rev. J. A. Ormerod, Rev. W. Dyke, Rev. W. Stoddart, Rev. J. Hannay, the Mayor, R. J. Spiers, Esq.; Aldermen Sadler, Grubb, and Towle; Mr. Sheriff Green; Councillors Tarry, Castle, Plowman, Wise, Faulkner, Carr, Ward, Clinch, and several other citizens.

Mr. Sheriff Green was voted to the chair. The object of the meeting was to consider the expediency either of applying to Parliament for additional powers to those already conferred by the local act, so as to enable the Board to raise a larger amount of sanitary improvements, or to place the city under the jurisdiction of the Health of Towns' Act. The meeting was addressed at some length by the Vice-Chancellor, the Mayor, and Dr. Bull, all of whom leaned strongly in favour of adopting the Health of Towns' Bill as the best and most efficacious plan. The Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Mr. Tarry, late Chairman of the Board of Commissioners, and some others, spoke in favour of retaining the present local act and obtaining additional power by an application to Parliament. It was, however, eventually agreed to appoint a committee, consisting of an equal number of members of the University and citizens, to consider what additional powers are necessary, and what amendment of the existing powers are required, as well as to consider the expediency of adopting the Health of Towns' Act. The committee, which is to report the result of their deliberations to a special general meeting, was appointed, and consists of the following gentlemen:—The Vice-Chancellor, the President of Corpus, the President of St. John's, the Senior Proctor, the Registrar of the University, Rev. Dr. Bull, the Rev. J. A. Ormerod, Rev. W. Dyke, Rev. J. Hannay, Rev. J. Ley, the Mayor, the Sheriff, Alderman Sadler, Alderman Grubb, Alderman Towle, Councillors Dare, Ward, and Plowman, and Mr. Randall.

There is a strong feeling in favour of placing Oxford under the Health of Towns' Act; and there is reason to believe that if a proposition to that effect had been made at this meeting it would have been carried by a large majority. When a similar proposition was made five years ago, it was rejected only by the casting vote of the chairman, Mr. Alderman Sadler, but since that time there has been a gradually increasing feeling in favour of it.

THE WRECK OF THE TAYLEUR: INQUEST.

AN inquest on two of the bodies drowned at the wreck of the *Tayleur* was held at the close of last week. There was a singular discrepancy in the evidence. The passenger witnesses were unanimous in condemning the crew as inefficient, and lubberly; the tackling as new, stiff, and barely workable; and they were unanimous in praise of the ship. The captain, however, declared he never felt the want of hands; that they worked very well; that they were no slower than new crews usually are; but he laid all the blame on the ship! She would not wear, or stay, or pay off, or answer her helm. He admitted that he had been on the same tack from eleven on Friday to the moment of the accident. He admitted also that he did not know he was so far north; that he expected to be off Wicklow Head instead of Lambay. When he could not get the ship to wear, she was going broadside on to the rocks, and he dropped the anchor, but the cable parting, the last chance was gone.

It appears that only two of the foreign seamen did not understand English. The Jury returned a verdict to the effect that the deplorable disaster occurred in consequence of highly culpable neglect on the part of the owners, in permitting the vessel to leave port without having her compasses adjusted, or sufficient trial made if she was under the control of the helm; that Captain Noble did not take sufficient precaution when he found the compasses in error, but acted with coolness and courage after he came in sight of land.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen came to Town, on Monday, and held a Privy Council, at which the terms of the speech were finally agreed upon. The next day she opened Parliament; and the same afternoon returned to Windsor. On Thursday the *Tempest* was played at the Castle.

The Indian news brought by the last mail has a certain importance. Lord Elphinstone has assumed the Government of Bombay. On the receipt of official intelligence from Bushire, a port in the Persian Gulf, that a large Persian force had appeared in that neighbourhood, the Bombay Government prepared an expedition, both naval and military, so that it might be ready to execute, on the instant, any orders sent either from England or Calcutta. Lord Dalhousie had gone to Rangoon. Burmah remained much in the same state.

A Cabinet Council was held on Saturday. It was attended by all the Ministers, and sat two hours and a half.

The "Conservatives,"—a general name for absence of any definite political convictions apparently—are actively engaged in securing the unoccupied seats. Mr. Robert Clive, M.P. for Ludlow, will go for South Shropshire, and be succeeded at Ludlow by Colonel Herbert. Mr. Henry Wyndham announces himself for West Sussex. Sir Stafford Northcote for South Devon.

Mr. Richard Prime, Tory member for West Sussex, resigns his seat. In his published address he complains that "the late nights of the House of Commons, and other fatigues of

a Parliamentary life, agree but badly with increasing years. My attendance during the last two sessions has been more interrupted by occasional illnesses, than I could have wished— anxious as I always have been to fulfil with punctuality the duties I have undertaken."

It appears probable that some of the Irish Members have been accustomed to touch large sums of money, given for places obtained through their influence; such places, for instance, as paid guardianships of the poor, and stipendiary magistracies!

Mr. John Peter Grant has been appointed Provisional Member of the Council of India.

Mr. Thomason, late Governor of the North-West Provinces, has left his fine library to the Government College at Agra.

Sir Joseph Thackwell has been summoned to London from Ireland by electric telegraph.

Sir John Burgoyne and Colonel Ardent, Engineers, have been sent by the Government to Constantinople.

Mr. Alexander Smith, author of the "Life Drama," has been elected secretary of the Edinburgh University. The candidates were, beside Mr. Smith, Mr. Robert Young, Mr. James Grant, Mr. William Daniel, Dr. John Benton, and Mr. Traill. The final decision was between Mr. Smith and Mr. Young, when the former obtained eighteen and the latter fifteen votes.

We are glad to hear that Colonel Outram has been appointed an honorary aide-de-camp to the Governor-General of India.

Accounts have reached Shanghai by the small Russian steam-tender of the death of the Emperor of Japan, whose decease will place the court in mourning for three years, during which period no foreign embassy can be received.

On Wednesday morning, as the Marquis of Anglessea was taking his usual morning walk, he was observed to ret against a lamp-post, when a gentleman, who knew him by appearance, approached, and found that his weakness was the result of an attack of paralysis. He immediately conveyed him to Uxbridge-house, where medical aid was at once called in.

Mr. Dargan loses 20,000*l.* by the Great Irish Exhibition.

It is stated by a Ministerial paper that the army will be increased by 11,000 men.

The *Daily News* puts forward these reports:—

"A plan is said to be in contemplation for establishing a Minister of War in this country, who should be charged with the affairs of Army, Navy, and Ordnance.

"The regiments of the line are to be augmented to 1000 men, and the battalions of Guards, now 640, are to be augmented to 800, except that one battalion will be augmented to 1000.

"Major-General Sir James Maxwell Wallace, K.H., is to be colonel of the 17th Lancers; and Major-General Thomas Erskine Napier, C.B., colonel of the 16th Foot. The post of colonel-in-chief of the 60th Royal Rifles remains vacant."

A committee of Engineer officers has reported to the Admiralty on the suitability of the mail-packet steamers for war purposes. The committee especially examined the vessels belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental and the Royal West India Mail Company. They say,—"Our opinion is, that the ships of these companies can never be regarded as efficient substitutes for regular men-of-war; and the opinion is based on the following considerations:—1. Their sharp form of bow to promote speed, continued upwards as it is to the height of the port-stills, renders it impossible to point and elevate guns in the line of keel. 2. Their rake of stern would render it dangerous to fire a gun when elevated, more particularly when trained from a fore and aft line. 3. These vessels having been designed entirely for steam propulsion and passenger accommodation, all other purposes have been made subservient to those ends. We find, too, that no attention has been paid to the importance that should be attached to the exposure of the engines, boilers, and steam-chest to shot, which, though in some degree unavoidable in all paddle-wheel steamers, appears to exist in these vessels to a most dangerous extent. After taking a deliberate view of the whole question submitted to us, we have arrived at the conclusion that the ships referred to provided they could be spared, would serve the purposes of armed troop-ships, and might occasionally be used, in the event of war, in our colonies abroad."

We are informed by a correspondent that a number of Russian ships that were at Liverpool have been sold to British subjects, and taken over, with the officers and crews, to be navigated under the British flag. Information on the subject, we understand, has been forwarded to the Board of Trade.—*Shipping Gazette.*

Letters from Australia state that the heavy 50-gun Russian frigate, *Dwina*, that fitted out in England, has arrived out on that station. The *Calliope*, 26, is the largest British man-of-war on the Australian station, which with the *Fantome*, 12, and a small tender or two, are the only ships-of-war of this nation at all there.

Letters from Königsberg of the 27th announce the arrival of three members of the Peace Society, on their way to St. Petersburg.

President Pierce has issued a proclamation declaring his intention of putting down the piratical expeditions from California. Although the debate between Senators Cass and Clayton on the Central American Treaty excited very little popular sensation, yet it is worthy of note that Mr. Clayton, at the close (according to one reporter) gave notice that unless Lord Clarendon's despatches were reconsidered, it was his intention to introduce a bill placing at the disposal of the President the naval and military forces of the United States, to enable him to compel Great Britain to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty, and pledging the revenues of the United States for the expenses of such action. Thus, he argued, the question would be brought to a direct issue, a war, or an abandonment of the Bay of Islands colonies, &c. But, notwithstanding all this minatory language, it may be relied upon that the entire difficulty is more likely to pass away harmlessly. Even Mr. Clayton's anticipated

notice has produced no public excitement, and many politicians regard the remark as not very statesmanlike when applied to a mere constitutional difference of a treaty. Besides, such a policy would require the building of a navy.

The City Commission have sat two days this week; but the evidence is not of a character to interest the public.

Two offices, which have become vacant in the City of London, are ordered to be kept open pending the Commission of Inquiry.

A large meeting of municipal officers of several considerable towns in England met in London on Thursday, and passed resolutions denouncing as unconstitutional all propositions to centralise the police force of England.

The people of Carlisle have petitioned Parliament to abolish four canopies in their cathedral, on the ground that they are "useless sinecures," and to apply a part of the revenues to augment the livings of the city.

A capital meeting, attended by several Members of Parliament, was held at Reigate, on Saturday, and resolutions agreed to, calling on Government to establish reformatory schools for juvenile delinquents; but urging, at the same time, the continuance of individual exertions.

Some classes of workmen in the Government dockyards have obtained an increase of wages.

John Murray Rawlings, a young clergyman of the Church of England, only lately married, and instituted to a living, pleaded guilty of forging a cheque at the Central Criminal Court this week. The forgery consisted in making "87." "80L." His sentence was deferred.

A labourer, named Kingston, found an Australian letter containing an order for 20L. on a London bank, in a dust-heap where Post-office rubbish is thrown. He honestly returned it to the Post-office. Of course, you will say, the officials rewarded him for his trouble—gave him at least a pot of beer? Nothing of the kind. They threatened to give him into custody if he did not be off!

A woman was picked up in a state of stupefaction by a policeman, who, considering her to be drunk, carried her to the station-house. She died. At the inquest a medical man said he could not detect the slightest symptoms of liquor. Many witnesses were examined. Ultimately a verdict in accordance with the medical testimony was returned by the jury, who before separating commented strongly upon the practice of the police, who were always led to believe that because a person was unconscious that he was intoxicated, and therefore took him to the station-house instead of conveying him to the nearest hospital or infirmary. Such a system was fraught with great danger, for in many instances the lives of persons who fell insensible in the street from apoplexy, might in all probability be saved by prompt medical attendance.

The following is a copy of a notice that was posted up in the town of Bulth, on the night of the 17th instant:—"Carmarthen, January, 1854.—This is to give notice.—To all flour dealers, all corn factors, and farmers, that shall be found concocting together to raise the price of eatables—corn, flour, bread, cheese, butter, and meat—any farmer that shall be found out holding back, not bringing his corn to market, shall be dealt with according to my law, as he is shedding the blood of the innocent under the disguise of honest men. Let them look to themselves, for my eye is upon them, and I shall not spare, for my law is severe.—REBECCA."—*Carmarthen Herald*.

The screw-steamer *Petrel* was destroyed by fire outside the dry dock, Glasgow, last week.

The *Olinda*, steamer, from Liverpool, bound for the Brazils, ran on to the Harry Furlong Rocks, near Holyhead, last week, in a strong gale. No life lost.

Last week we pointed out how a descendant of De Foe was allowed to live without a pension. The *Glasgow Examiner* informs us of a singular object of Royal bounty—a descendant of the famous Flora Macdonald, the Jacobite:—"We learn with much satisfaction that her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to grant the sum of 50L. as a gift to Miss Mackay, the great granddaughter, and only descendant of that relationship now alive, of the famous Flora Macdonald. The recipient is unable to do anything to provide for herself, and through the kind services of the Premier, Lord Aberdeen, this grant has been obtained. There are descendants of Flora, by a sister of the recipient of this gift, but the sister died about a year ago."

From a return just issued it appears, that on the 13th of September, 1853, 3902 prisoners were confined in the Government prisons in Ireland. Of these 3636 were Roman Catholics, 222 were members of the Church of England, and 44 were Dissenters. With the exception of Fort Carlisle, there is a Roman Catholic chaplain attached to each of the prisons. In the other gaols there were 6006 prisoners—5268 Roman Catholics, 601 members of the Church of England, and 137 Dissenters.

The annual abstract of the colonial expenditure of Great Britain has just been issued. The period embraced in this return is the year 1851-52. The military expenditure amounted to 3,003,282L., the naval to 55,717L., the civil to 499,350L.; a small item, 2776L., is deducted in respect of post-office collections in Malta and Honduras exceeding the expenditure, reducing the total expenditure incurred by Great Britain to 3,555,373L. The Cape absorbed 1,067,321L. of the military expenditure, the Ionian Islands 122,511L., Jamaica 125,032L., Canada 312,672L., Nova Scotia 116,077L., Mauritius 73,233L., Ceylon 90,477L., New Zealand 83,819L., Labuan 4933L.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, February 4th.

It is understood Baron Brancovan leaves London this day, and that he retires to Darmstadt for the present. He is said to express no hope of returning to London, and to be profoundly chagrined at the extremities to which the "Russian Question" has come at last—

extremities sufficient to compel a man who for nearly 13 years has occupied a conspicuous station in the most brilliant circles of London, to abandon Chesham-place for Darmstadt, Belgravia and St. James's for a dreary babyhouse of mediatised princes and unrecognised aristocracies.

We have been reduced on a former occasion, by the duty of exposing the Russian system, to allude to certain ambiguous incidents of the earlier career of this eminent diplomatist. But, in taking leave of him, we cannot do him less justice than to express our belief that he has won the regard of society by his amiable personal qualities, and the respect of statesmen at once by his rare capacity and his unalterable amenity.

The business transacted in the House of Commons last night was of a most miscellaneous character. At the outset a number of questions were put and elicited the following answers:—

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT and Lord PALMERSTON stated that it was the intention of the Government to amend the act of last session which threw the expense of "Militia Storehouses" on counties, and to throw it on the Ordnance Department; and if "Bar-racks for the Militia" were built, it would be done at the public expense.

Lord J. RUSSELL said there was no intention of introducing any measure for throwing open "Dublin University," with its honours and privileges, to persons of all religious denominations.—An inquiry whether the "British Museum" could not be opened for "five days" a week, was met by the answer that the days on which it was closed were required by artists for the purpose of study.

Sir JOHN YOUNG declined to re-introduce the "Tenants' Compensation Ireland Bill" into the House of Commons, which had already given its sanction to the measure, but would leave it to the House of Lords.

Mr. CARDWELL stated that he was prepared with a bill for the "Prevention of Railway Accidents."

Lord PALMERSTON was ready to produce the correspondence between himself and the Chancellors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge on the subject of University Reform.

Lord Palmerston also stated his intention to bring in this session a bill for the better regulation of "Burial Societies."

He also promised to inquire into the case of "Mr. Alexander," of Edinburgh, who had been committed for thirty days for conscientiously refusing to take an oath in the Sheriff's Court.

Lord John RUSSELL stated that he should, in a committee of the whole House, move for leave to bring in a bill to alter "Parliamentary Oaths."

The House then went into a committee of the whole, and Mr. CARDWELL moved for leave to bring in a bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to merchant shipping; and a bill to admit foreign ships to the coasting trade. With regard to the merchant-shipping bill, he stated that the first part of the bill related to the amendment of the systems of registry, and measurement; it then dealt with the questions of the discipline and comfort of the merchant seamen; with that of nautical accidents, and the increase of the efficiency of all means of saving life at sea, for which purpose a small sum would be taken in the estimates of the year, and the measures of last year on the subject of lights and pilotage. The right hon. gentleman then gave an account of the results of the bills passed last session. The light dues had been reduced one-fourth since January, the union of the Trinity House and Cinque Ports pilots, and reduction charge for pilotage. The register ticket for seamen had been abolished. Steps had been taken for carrying out the suggestions of the American Government for recording observations of the winds and currents at sea, and a sum would be voted to furnish instruments to a few masters of merchant vessels for the purpose. Nautical education would be increased, by naval teachers being sent from the Greenwich schools, to be masters in navigation schools at the outposts. A report would soon be made by the commission on passing tolls. The right honourable gentleman then urged the adoption of the bill for throwing open the coasting trade, the only remaining fetter on free navigation, and which had been retained only on the ground that it tended to prevent fraud on the public revenue, which he showed was unfounded; and argued on the necessity of such measure, in consequence of the rise in wages and demand for seamen, and the increased price of freights, as well as the policy of using our means of extending the capabilities of our mercantile marine.

Mr. HORSFALL, Mr. HUME, Mr. LIDDELL, Mr. HENLEY, Mr. LABOUCHERE, Admiral WALCOT, Captain SCOBELL, Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. INGHAM, Mr. LAING, and Mr. APSLEY PELLATT, severally observed on the subject of the bills, and the opinion generally expressed was favourable. Leave was given to bring in the bills. The House rose at half-past eight.

In the House of Lords nothing of importance was transacted. Lord CLANRICARDE gave notice that he would, on Monday, put a question to the Government as to whether this country was now at peace or war; and call attention to a despatch sent to St. Petersburg on 24th December last.

By telegraph, the auxiliary screw blockships *Hogue*, 60, and *Edinburgh*, 58, have been ordered to proceed eastward at once from Plymouth, to form part, we presume, of the squadron at the Nore. Master Commander Peter Wellington, R.N., has been ordered to commission the *Hecla* steamer, to take with him half a dozen masters of the navy, and make careful surveys and soundings of the approaches to the Baltic.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"THE STRANGER IN PARLIAMENT."—Our readers will understand this Session, as last Session, that the "Stranger" appears in our columns on the footing of a correspondent, for whose opinions we are not editorially responsible.

In reply to two preternaturally acute correspondents from Manchester, we have to remark, that we stated the fact, that a material "accident"—the repairs of the Free Trade Hall—prevented the Manchester party assembling in their usual locale. We expressed an opinion that if the Manchester party "is no longer big enough to require a great hall for its gatherings," when the subject of discussion is the national honour, no doubt on economical, commercial, or educational questions, the Manchester school would always be able to fill the largest hall in Manchester. On the recent occasion, we are equally persuaded Messrs. Cobden and Bright, "feeling themselves in a minority," were glad to be reduced to a room at the Albion. We have not heard that any attempt was made to find space for a meeting on the old scale, nor do we believe that a room of intermediate dimensions between the Albion parlour and the Free Trade Hall could not have been obtained. The orators were wisely content with an audience fit but few. We trust this explanation will satisfy the two gentlemen of the Manchester school—of discussion. "Sunday at Rockbro."—It was not available at the time.

ERRATUM.—In the article upon *PIECE-WORK*, the sentence "In 1824 a spinner could spin 17,600 draws of 30's worst in 12 hours, he can now spin 24,000 draws of the same count in 10 hours," should read "In 1824 a spinner could spin 17,600 draws of 30's worst per week of 12 hours a day, he can now spin 24,000 draws of the same count per week of 10 hours a day."

J. L.

OUR SUBSCRIBERS are informed, that the "Leader" Title-Page and Index for the past year will be published with No. 203, next Saturday, the 11th of February.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1854.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

THE POSITION OF ENGLAND.

RUSSIA has broken off diplomatic relations with France and England; the "relations" of this country to the great Northern Power are no matters of solicitude. She is an avowed enemy, and the practical questions of the day are—How far are we prepared to meet her open enmity; what are our supports?

That we are well prepared, we believe. A perusal of the despatches justifies the conviction that Ministers have in reality been as energetic as they assure Parliament—more so; and that in a time of action they will not be wanting to the honour of England. At such a time it becomes all parties to lay aside secondary differences, and heartily to support the national Ministers, so long as they go forward. A few months ago, we should no doubt have differed with Ministers as to the desirable course: they attach to the fact of having Austria on our side an importance which we do not. But these divisions of council cease as soon as the national flag is raised.

Nor do we yet believe it possible that England, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, can advance the national flag on the field of Europe without advancing the cause of liberty. Much

will depend on the course taken by Austria; but in any event English victory must be a gain to freedom. Austria has her last opportunity for choosing the Russian or the Western alliance; but in either case she will to a great extent be the client of her ally, whichever that ally may be. Nor is it possible that war can exist in Europe without hopes rising among the oppressed nations; the more strongly, if Spain should make a fresh effort for freedom. Great questions, therefore, will claim the arbitrament of England.

Should Austria side with England, she must accept protection against the encroachment of Russia; and if Italians and Hungarians ask a higher price for their allegiance, is it possible that England can neglect to impress upon the young Emperor the Stadion policy, and the living model of Sardinia; or would it be possible for Austria to refuse?

Should Austria elect to run the portentous risk of aiding Russia to establish a new Muscovite empire, such an act of desperation would be a challenge to all the provinces of Austria, while it would bring against England such an array of power as would force her to accept any support of military resources that the state of Europe might offer.

In any case the flag of England must be on the side of larger freedom; and therefore we say, as well as for national reasons, the cry of every Englishman now ought to be, "St. George and the right!"

MANNING OF THE NAVY.

In the closing paragraph of our last News of the Week we noticed the compulsory detention of the crew of the *Thetis*, as approaching to unfairness; but we must confess that we were mistaken in the facts. It is no excuse to say that into this mistake we were led by a positive assertion in print, which at the moment it did not occur to us to question—that the crew had been in service six years. On this point we welcome the correction of a correspondent, whose communication we regard as eminently valuable for that which follows the correction. We may add, that in every respect our correspondent is qualified to speak upon naval subjects generally, and upon the actual state of the service:—

"Your ideas of what should be our foreign policy so exactly coincide with those entertained by the navy, that I feel convinced you will allow me to point out an error in last week's *Leader*. You complain that the men belonging to the *Thetis* are, after serving six years, compelled to remain in the service. The *Thetis* was commissioned on July, 1859; none of her men, therefore, have been employed more than three years and a half, probably two-thirds have not served more than three years. These men were entered for five years, and if needful for six months more, at an increased rate. Consequently the majority of these men will not have completed their term for more than two years. I do not believe the crew themselves consider their treatment harsh, and I do not think the Admiralty could at this critical juncture have acted otherwise.

"A most excellent spirit pervades all men-of-war's men just now. They come forward with a will to join the ships lately commissioned, and, though perhaps the merchant-seamen hang back on account of the high wages they receive, I am bound to say the hundreds of landsmen who have entered lately are most anxious to perfect themselves in their duties before the spring."

We have no doubt of it; and the sole object of our remark, was to insist upon the principle of following out as much as possible this volunteer spirit; for nothing can be more valuable, whether afloat or ashore. We still think that it would be harsh and impolitic not to extend, in spirit as well as in letter, the advantages of the improved naval system to the old hands as well as to the new. If there is any superior advantage, it should be on the side of the old hands even before the new. With respect to the particular case, our objection is fully answered by our correspondent.

He follows up his correction by excellent and practical suggestions respecting the class of landsmen:—

"A man under 5 feet 6½ inches is rejected, though frequently such a man is in every way more qualified for hard work than a man standing some two inches higher. A man

entered at one of the outports is allowed 1s. 3d. per day for subsistence. When there are a lot of them, say fifty, a small Government steamer is sent, and they are banded on board, given the day's allowance of provisions and nothing more. The steamer, perhaps, stays a day or two in port, and then proceeds. She may be a day or two on her voyage before she approaches a naval port. Now, sir, all this time these unfortunate wretches, who are probably suffering from sea-sickness, are lying about the steamer's deck without beds, blankets, or even straw. Is this a scene likely to fascinate our young men with the service, or to disgust them at once? If beds cannot be found by the Government for our volunteers, let a few be borrowed from the gaols. It might not be amiss to mention, that when troops are embarked for a day hammocks and bedding are supplied by the dockyard.

"But why should our Admiralty ignore the use of the railroad? In nine cases out of ten I am confident a great saving would be effected, if the men were at once sent down to their ships. The cost would be under 1½ a head in most cases, and you would save the subsistence money, the wear and tear of the steamer, coals, &c., &c. I believe the Admiralty has partially adopted this system, as men from the northern ports are now sent by railroads. I hope soon to hear those from Dover and Yarmouth are equally fortunate."

Our correspondent touches upon another point, not less deserving of attention; for assuredly nothing can be more important than to preserve the efficiency of the recruiting staff by giving to it its due rewards:—

"Again, let me contrast the miserable parsimony of the Admiralty in the allowances that are made to officers enlisting seamen. In the army an officer is allowed 2s. per diem for subsistence and lodgings (no very horrible extravagance), and 1½ for every man he enlists. A naval officer is allowed nothing when at a naval port—say Plymouth or Portsmouth—the Admiralty alleging that he ought to live on board the guardship. At a mercantile port—say Liverpool—he receives 7s. 6d. a day; a sum, I do not hesitate to say, insufficient to pay for board and lodging. Their lordships think otherwise, as I hear they have reduced this allowance to 5s. lately. Unfortunately for our lieutenants, mere board and lodging is the least of their expenses; in order to procure seamen the same liberality must be shown that is exercised by private shipowners. Jack will not talk to you about shipping till you ask him to drink a glass of grog. Quakers naturally will say this is a horrid state of affairs, and that it is better to get no men than to get them by such means. If so, let the Admiralty recall all the officers from the outports, and save their paltry 5s. a day. But if not, let them behave with the common liberality which a private company would show towards its agents, and we shall hear no more of the scarcity of merchant seamen in the outports, or of naval officers being deterred by the expense from raising seamen.

"I trust my next letter may give you a detailed account of the taking of Cronstadt."

Our correspondent signs himself "Patriot," a name he is fully entitled to use; indeed, we are confident that there is many a man bearing her Majesty's commission who is on that account not less, but more entitled, to call himself the servant of his country; and if the country cripples the zeal of its servants by stinting their means for action, how can it expect even the most patriotic of its officers to execute the duty according to the necessities of the country and the dictates of their own hearts? We want such seamen as England can furnish, whether they are already afloat or to be sought ashore; and we want them to be officered by men who feel that they have the confidence, as well as the commands, of their country.

OMISSIONS IN THE SPEECH.

IRELAND; AMERICA; EDUCATION.

The omissions of the Queen's speech are not less remarkable than the points which it includes.

Ireland is overlooked, or rather perhaps we might say, that the omission of the word "Ireland" from the speech, proves that it is more fully included than it used to be when that island stood for separate mention. England is not mentioned, nor Scotland; the Sovereign was speaking for the United Kingdom, and happily, distinctions which used to separate Ireland from the two sister kingdoms, are passing away. Hence there is no necessity to repeat the union in the royal speech, by mentioning Ireland as a separate dependency, distinguished from the others by its less fortunate condition.

"My allies" are mentioned parenthetically, with a marked distinction between these allies and the Emperor of the French, who "cordially co-operates" with her Majesty; but it is impossible that, amongst "my allies," can be included the

United States of America—that power of all others whose friendship is most important to this country at the present juncture. Save France, there is not a power on the Continent who can cope with our navy; none except Russia which would venture even to contend against us at sea. While France, England, and the United States are together, commerce is unmenaced by any foe that either one of these three powers could not, single handed, destroy. How different if America were against us! It has been discovered, indeed, that her navy is not so strong afloat as it is on paper; but we all know the resources of that Republic, its unconquerable spirit, its prompt action. We all know, too, unhappily, that there are "questions" which our Government keeps open and sore, and thus it might happen that differences between the Governments should arise. If so, let us say, without any craven apprehension, that the paths of English commerce would no longer be undisturbed. How interesting, therefore, would it be to the public of this country to receive from the Sovereign of England assurances, corresponding to the assurances on those very points of differences which the President of the United States recently made to his own people in tones of the most friendly spirit towards England. Is it possible that Lord John Russell's literary spleen against Mr. Everett can animate the Cabinet, and make it turn with coolness towards the Government of the best friends which England can hope to possess?

Upon the third omission in the speech we can put a more obvious and hopeful construction—Education is left out. A measure on that important subject has been expected, and indeed promised, from the present Ministry. Scotland awaits a measure, and on practical grounds. Influential men, almost in an official position, have recently been showing that education in this country would be the means of preventing juvenile crime, and of checking those mistaken disturbances of industry in the north. The working classes cry aloud for education; the educated classes insist upon it. At Liverpool, the rector of the town and the coadjutor Catholic bishop were joined with a leading liberal Unitarian, a Presbyterian, a Scottish Baptist, and the fiery Low-Church Hugh McNeile, in declaring that sectarian differences might be overcome to carry education down to the young and erring of the humbler classes. Why, then, is it that Ministers hesitate to bring forward that favourite measure? We say that, conjecturally, we can explain their delay. It may be that they regard the public as spontaneously working out the difference that divide it, and as employing the interval still left in a fermentation which will introduce life and harmony in the body politic, to prepare for the reception of a more ample and energetic measure.

No movement out-doors is more pregnant with future consequence than that which Lord Ashburton has set on foot, in offering prizes for the teaching of common things; and the account of this plan is opportunely published in a separate and substantive form. In tuition, generally, it is the custom to teach more set knowledge out of books, little of the things by which we are surrounded, and which we have to use for the practical purposes of life. Mechanical laws and the proper use of the ordinary implements of life—physiological laws, and the proper arrangements for health—economical laws, and the proper management of limited means for the comfort of the family—are omitted, in favour of information respecting events that happened a long time ago or a long way off. By giving prizes to teachers who can teach "common things," and to students who show aptitude for learning common things, Lord Ashburton takes a step towards bringing popular education directly to the point of applied knowledge. It is another instance of the manner in which public opinion is preparing the great education question for the more effectual treatment by the State.

Lord Palmerston's reply to the deputation on juvenile offenders proves that Ministers are not dead to educational subjects, though they are only represented in the speech by the least comprehensive section—University reform.

* Ashburton Prizes for the teaching of "Common Things." An account of the proceedings at a meeting between Lord Ashburton and the elementary schoolmasters assembled at Winchester, on Friday, Dec. 16, 1858, with a correct report of the addresses delivered on that occasion, and a detailed scheme of the prizes offered. Groombridge and Sons, 5, Paternoster row. 1858.

PRINCE ALBERT.

THE truth respecting Prince Albert has now been stated by Ministers—his position towards Ministers, and his position with regard to the Sovereign. It appears that Prince Albert does interfere in political affairs, but does not interfere as a Minister, and does not hold correspondence with the English Ministers at foreign courts. In all these respects the explanation is complete, and it is only to be regretted that the first assertions on the subject should have been left to those who had imperfect information or malignant motives.

A pamphlet, which is ascribed to an officer of the Privy Council, recently explained that Prince Albert gave his advice as a subject and Privy Councillor, being responsible for it in both capacities in the same way that any other Privy Councillor, or a Cabinet Minister, is responsible. This is denied by a legal authority of the highest rank: Lord Campbell says that Prince Albert advises the Sovereign, not as Privy Councillor, but as Consort, as an "alter ego." Lord Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, and Lord Derby concur in representing Prince Albert as having been recommended to the Sovereign for an adviser by Lord Melbourne; as having been introduced into the closet where the Queen holds conferences with her Ministers by Sir Robert Peel; as taking an active share in guiding the judgment and action of the Sovereign; and, in point of fact, as acting in the capacity designated by Lord Campbell.

How far such a position is compatible with the freedom which Prince Albert must enjoy as a German Prince, of holding communication with his royal relatives and friends at foreign courts, we do not know; but we do know that his intervention in the affairs of this country, as the Consort of the reigning Sovereign, and the father of a future Sovereign, conducted as that intervention is, with the frank knowledge and concurrence of Ministers, is a very different thing from the secret influence and intriguing interference ascribed to him in the charges that were made. The constitutional question is a subject for more deliberate consideration; but the graver and specific charges have, it appears to us, been fully met. That those charges were deserving of attention,—that in fact they challenged full explanation, is proved by the fact that Ministers have taken pains to explain the matter quite distinctly in both Houses of Parliament. If it had been explained earlier, much of the inconvenience arising from these aspersions would have been prevented. Ministers are aware of the inconvenience resulting from a slavish adherence to the established precedents. They should find out some means of employing an organ to diffuse correct information during the recess of Parliament. It cannot be difficult to do so. Either the *London Gazette*, improved in its management and mode of publication, might be used for the purpose; or, as manifest inconvenience attends the daily publication of an organ that must vary greatly in its amount of contents, a more convenient course might consist in authorising some journal already devoted to Ministers to institute an "official part" for the purpose of promulgating official information and views. Had such a machinery existed, it would have been quite possible, weeks ago, to give an explanation as distinct as that which Lord John Russell furnished for the House of Commons.

Believing in the assurance of Lord Aberdeen and Lord John Russell, that Prince Albert employs his influence strictly as an English statesman, without connexion abroad, we cannot regret that a spirit such as that which he has manifested should be placed where it can so beneficially exercise its power. Long before this question arose, we had taken occasion to point out the original force and the consistent perseverance with which Prince Albert has introduced a tone of true piety and high philosophy into the survey of public affairs; and if the same spirit is introduced into politics, as well as in the subjects of arts and material improvement, so much the better for the State.

THE CONFERENCE ON STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

WE are not sure whether those who assembled at the invitation of the Society of Arts, to discuss strikes and lock-outs, were disposed to rest the discussion on its true grounds; but we are sure that the form in which the questions were submitted to the meeting prevented it from approaching the true ground for discussion. Amidst several theoretical questions which were bundled together in the three propositions, there were four questions of a

practicable nature—Whether the law of limited liability in partnership would tend to supersede combinations; whether any legislative provision would control obviously detrimental combinations; what means would be likely to terminate strikes and lock-outs; and what should be the mode of determining the value of labour by piece-work or by share of profits? There was no time to discuss the last question, which several in the meeting regarded as the most important. Several speakers throw out the idea of courts of arbitration as a substitute for strikes. The question of legislative interference with combination was suffered to drop; and the meeting passed a resolution in favour of limited law and partnership. But the discussion went upon many other things. Mr. Newton, for example, contended that combinations, and even strikes, are the only resources of the men; but that lock-outs are unjustified, because they are joined by masters who have no complaint against their own hands. They are unjust, said Mr. Newton; others said the same. There would be no necessity for strikes, said another speaker, if the masters would only treat their hands as men, and not as machinery. Combinations are a lamentable necessity, said Mr. John Petty, because moral considerations are not admitted in transactions between masters and men. There is much truth in all these positions; but they fail to attain any practicable result, because they present an extraordinary mixture of really separate considerations.

In the actual state of society, in the feelings which masters and men entertain towards each other, the only common ground upon which they really stand is the commercial ground. We do not mean to say that they *ought* only to stand on that ground, but we do mean that there is no other ground common to both sides; and in a dispute there never can be a conclusion until both sides consent to discuss the subject on a common ground. Until they do, it is like a fight between a dog and a fish, which can never terminate, because neither places itself upon a ground upon which both sides have a chance of victory. On the commercial ground they do meet, and Mr. Edwin Hill was quite right when he said that, on that ground, it is the interest both of masters and men to agree upon a common line—the line at which wages should be determined as being neither too high nor too low.

It is a common fallacy, said Mr. Pryme, late Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge, that wages and profits rise and fall in inversely to each other; that is, that wages are low when profits are high, and profits are low when wages are high. It must always be remembered, in treating the imperfections of Adam Smith, that he was the first writer on political economy, and that mistakes were inevitable. Had he lived now, he would have corrected that position, and would have said that wages and profits are directly as to the demand, and inversely as to the cost of production; that is, when an article is greatly in demand, and its production is not very costly, both wages and profits are high; and either will be higher in proportion as managing tact or labour are least easily procured. These, however, are laws which do not depend upon the choice of any parties; and the object both of masters and workmen must be to find out what, in the existing state of the labour-market and the produce market, is the value of labour or of capital; for mistakes made at one time, will have to be corrected at another. If capital or labour takes too much to itself at one day, at a subsequent day it will be fined, and will have to return the surplus in the form of reduced wages or profits. On commercial grounds, therefore, the whole question is one of fact, and the only clue to give the highest wages is proper information as to the real market value of labour. There should be prices-current of labour, exactly as there are prices-current of sugar, cotton, or any other article.

There are, however, more than commercial considerations. There is, for example, the moral question mooted by Mr. Petty. Men ought to treat their fellow-creatures as men, said he, and several other speakers. This is true; but it is not a commercial consideration; it is one resting solely on moral grounds, and depends entirely upon matter of feeling. Now here you get beyond the province of any coercive law. A child can take a horse to the water, but a thousand men cannot make him drink if he does not feel inclined. Actions may be coerced; a man may be compelled to pay money; his limbs may be tied up; under the operation of fear he may be forced to dig; but there

is no coercion in the world that can command his feelings,—can make him respect one whom he does not respect, feel sympathy when his heart is hard, or care for the interest of his fellow before his own. Nor can he be made to do these things by "striking": you cannot rouse a man's good feelings by appealing to his bad feelings. You may do it by disregarding his bad impulses, and appealing straightway to his better instincts. If you can make him feel the chivalrous desire to aid rather than to oppress the helpless, and if you can recast the natural affection which man has for man until artificial habits intervene, you may induce him to be generous, and to regard his fellow-creature more as a brother than as a part of a manufacturing machine. But in order to do that, you yourself must become competent to handle questions of religion, of chivalry, of natural affection; and, again, in order to do that, you yourself must be religious, chivalrous, and affectionate. You must be what individuals are in many classes, but what, we fear, does not represent the type either of a factory hand or of a factory owner. In either case the result cannot be attained by contest or coercion.

Again, the question of right or justice is really beside this matter upon any ground upon which any class would consent to discuss it. Wrong, or injustice, only exists as the violation of a law. Now, what law have the masters violated in locking their mills? No commercial law. If some persons wish them to conduct their business at a rate of wages which their ledger or their own judgment does not authorise, the proper course for them is to suspend business, or to abandon it altogether. It may be said, indeed, that there ought to be no civilised country in which those who are industriously inclined are deprived of employment. Most true; but Governments and those who make laws distinctly repudiate the obligation of securing the employment for the people. They do worse,—they take away from the people the only thing out of which man can get his livelihood; they take away the land from the people, and then tell the people to trust to "self-reliance." Now self-reliance is a fine thing in a new country, where a man has only to dig, to hunt, or to gather fruits, in order to live by the sweat of his brow; but when a man is kept from the land to which he is born, and told to trust to his self-reliance, he might answer, very fairly, Can I hunt over my self-reliance; can I plough my self-reliance; can I get anything whatever substantial out of my self-reliance, while you keep from me the land, with which, by my self-reliance, I could work, and while you do not give me that employment upon which I could exercise my self-reliance? But how would the Society of Arts have tolerated the discussion of a question involving the natural right of man to the land upon which he is born?

Admit the right of access to the land or of employment, and still the case against the masters is not made out. Upon what plea can the working classes call upon any individual to make good the defect of the state? Mr. Miller, for example—how is he responsible? In this free country has he not a right to build a mill, or not to build it, as he pleases; he can put machinery in it of any kind that he chooses, to make buttons, cotton, peg tops, engines, or baby jumpers, just as he pleases; he may open his doors and proclaim that any one may enter his mill to assist in making cottons, peg tops, engines, or baby jumpers, on whatever terms he, Miller, may offer,—10s. an hour, if he pleases, or a farthing for a day, he being answerable only for the consequences to himself of offering lavish wages or such as would keep his mill empty and motionless. Though, while excluded from the land, the people ought to have employment, still they have no claim individually upon Miller; who pays his taxes like other people, and obeys the dictate of the representative Government. There is no question of justice between Miller and those persons having a claim upon the community. He is unjust only if he deceives them, breaks his word, or uses some power meant for one purpose to coerce men for another; as for instance, if, being churchwarden, he should exclude men from church in order to force them into his mill. So long as he limits himself to the spontaneous opening of mills, he may offer any terms he pleases, however preposterous, and be only a donkey for his pains, without rightly incurring any blame for injustice, because he does not do for the people that which the State neglects to do. Miller is not Britannia, and is not bound to pay her debts, or make good her defaults.

There are, we will repeat, other considerations

besides those of commercial grounds. A people making arrangement for its own laws, may fairly consider that every able-bodied man, answerable for the subsistence of his dependents, ought to have land or occupation, and that if large classes are out of work, while other classes are getting richer, the fact proves the existence of bad laws, and is an injustice. So it is; there are many bad laws in this country, and particularly laws for the protection of credit, of capital, and of commercial prerogatives; laws which violate freedom of contract between man and man, and are totally inconsistent with the doctrines of free trade. But what has Miller got to do with this? It is a question between the working man and the State. The injustice to the working man is, that the State slights him and makes no account of him. Why? Because he has no influence or power. He cannot buy influence with gold; and he has neglected of late years to win it, by making noble and disinterested appeals to the national interest as superior to his own. There is another reason. A country exists in which the working men are of great account, because they are the largest numbers, and other classes, unless they can use extraordinary tact, and win over the working classes by rhetoric or by actually helping them, are, to speak plainly, afraid of slighting the million. Again we say, why? Because in that country, every man of the million is armed; whereas in this country the English people have consented to be disarmed.

Looking around the world, at all times we find that influence has been caused by the science of men's motives, and the art of influencing those motives. In superstitious countries or ages, the priesthood have been the great depositors of influence; in military countries or ages, great captains have swayed the world; in our own country and age, capitalists easily purchase influence. In all countries, power has resided with those who hold the arms of a nation; in the United States the whole body of the people retains possession of arms, and the Government is the servant of the whole body of the people; in England the Executive possesses the arms, and when the people are troublesome, the Executive can "put it down." Plainly that is the reason why the largest number of the people must put up with injustice; and it is idle to charge the consequences on Mr. Miller. But would the Society of Arts have retained its five senses in the presence of such a discussion?

WHAT IS A COURT DRESS IN AMERICA?

GREAT things sometimes arise from trifles, and it is with the deepest regret that we read the following paragraph in the *Times* of Thursday:—

"THE AMERICAN MINISTER.—It was inadvertently stated in the *Times* of yesterday morning that the American Minister was present in the diplomatic tribune, in evening dress, at the House of Lords yesterday, upon the opening of Parliament by her Majesty. Neither the Minister nor any member of the legation was present; information having been sent by the Master of the Ceremonies that members of the diplomatic corps must appear in full Court dress, which cannot be worn by the American legation without disregarding instructions."

Here are England and America divided upon the most ridiculous trifle which could engage the attention of states! We do not propose to allot the comparative merit to the two parties in the dispute. England makes a gold lace coat an essential in communicating with the great states of the world on high occasions; and America cannot jump over the gold lace to enter the communion. England renders great questions of state subservient to a coat, but America does no less; the difference only is, that England does it positively, but America negatively.

Besides the question of dignity, of merits, or allegorical importance in gold lace as typifying national greatness, splendour, munificence, and high-mindedness—setting aside these considerations, there is a question of policy, and let us simply offer to the attention of English statesmen the conduct of other powers, whose admitted sagacity or whose wily astuteness this country has had recent occasion to appreciate.

The same question arose in France. A difficulty was felt in admitting the American Charge d'Affaires, *en bourgeois*; but when he actually appeared—when some of the courtiers shrunk from the phenomenon the effect of which they could not foresee—the Emperor stepped up to him, personally singled him out, shook him by the hand, and avowed the imperial admiration for the greatness of the republic. Louis Napoleon is not

to be deterred by the difficulties of a war from cementing an important alliance.

The same question arose when Judge Douglas had his interview with the Czar, of which somewhat tumid accounts have reached the journals. Mr. Douglas arrived in St. Petersburg after having been "down south." The Emperor learned of his arrival, and wished to treat him with distinction. Judge Douglas, we have reason to suppose, had no reluctance to be treated with distinction. The imperial solicitude even provided a special suite of rooms for the republican judge at a place during the military review where rooms were scarce; the republican judge deigned to occupy the suite thus opportunely provided. But in the meanwhile, before embodied Russia and impersonated Young America had met on the plain of Karsnoe Selo, a question arose as to the possibility of admitting any one within courtly precincts in mufti.

"It is," said Count Nesselrode, "an imperative law that no one should go to court except in court dress." If a breach of the law was impossible in the Russian court, the difficulty of donning a courtier's suit was insuperable to the republican. The point was discussed, but the Judge could not overcome the scruples of his democratic pride. Very sorry, but he must give up the pleasure. The astute Russian Minister was very sorry, too. To catch a live American, and to identify him with the courtesies of the Autocratic court, were telling incidents, the opportunity for which was not to be lost; and great are the resources of Russian policy.

"Stop," cried Nesselrode, "perhaps we do not understand each other. Perhaps we are not reciprocally clear as to what we mean by a 'court dress.' What is a court dress? The Emperor will expect that you shall wait upon him in the same costume which you would wear when you are received by your own President."

"Oh!" cried the Judge; "if I were going to the White House, I should go exactly as I am."

"Then," cried the bowing Chancellor, "that is a court dress."

THE LANCASHIRE STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

II.

LANCASHIRE COTTON-SPINNING.

THE history of the cotton manufacture so entirely involves all the principles illustrated by the present anomalous position of Lancashire, and is, indeed, so intimately (though, in some cases, remotely) connected with all the points at issue in the dispute, that a comprehensive survey of it will be neither misplaced nor uninteresting at the outset of this inquiry. One fact alone places Lancashire in an exceptional position as regards all the other counties of England, its rapid increase of population, and to account for this we must understand something of the wonderful ratio in which its cotton manufacture has increased. From the Census of 1851, we learn that the population of Lancashire has increased during the preceding half-century from 673,486 to 2,031,236, or two hundred and one per cent.; whilst the average increase of the forty-three English counties, during the same period, was eighty-nine and a half per cent., and that of Middlesex was only one hundred and thirty per cent. Some cause or causes far more potent than the common laws that govern population must have been at work here!

Before the middle of the last century the only machinery used for the production of cotton yarn was the common spinning-wheel. This was one step in advance of the primitive distaff and spindle, and is thought to have been introduced into this country about the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is a strange and noticeable fact that, however much cotton-spinners may have departed from the form, they have never abandoned the principle of the spindle and distaff:—the *carding-engine*, *drawing-frame*, *slubbing-frame*, *roving-frame*, and *mule*, are nothing but developments of the simple principles illustrated by the ancient distaff and spindle. The new machinery does the work better and quicker, but it does the same things, and, as nearly as possible, in the same way.

At a very early period the county of Lancashire became celebrated for its cotton manufactures. Mr. Lewis Roberts, in a book entitled *The Treasure of Traffic*, published in 1641, says, "The town of Manchester buys cotton-wool from London that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna, and works it into fustians, vermilions, and dimities." But the processes and management of the trade were

then distinguished for little besides their simplicity and the indomitable perseverance with which the early cotton-factors struggled against the difficulties of their position. At that time every cottage among the wild hills of Lancashire was furnished with its one-thread spinning-wheel, and the good wife sitting at the door when the domestic labours of the day were concluded, and adding by that means to the slender earnings of the family, furnished the poet with the attractive picture of "Contentment sitting at her Spinning-wheel." The husband, or perhaps the next door neighbour would have, after 1670, his new-fangled Dutch loom in the ingle, and thus under one roof would sometimes be contained the perfect germ of a modern cotton-mill. The factor, taking his rides about the country, visited these modest homesteads, distributing linen warp* and a proportional quantity of cotton-wool, returning months after to receive his dimities, his jaconets, and his calicoes. There are foolish people who look back fondly upon these times with affectionate regret, and talk about the superior condition of the operative under that régime. Let the story develop itself.

About the middle of the last century the cotton manufacture had got into a dilemma; one-half of it was outstripping the other; the art of weaving had got so much in advance of that of spinning, that the weavers could not get enough money for the perfected work to enable them to satisfy the demands of the spinner. The practice was to give the warp and the raw cotton to the weaver, and he employed the spinner to make the latter into weft. To some extent, therefore, he was at the mercy of the spinner, and as the spinners were even then a united body, and had their union, we are told that the weavers dared not to complain of the tyranny exercised over them, lest the spinners should strike against them, and keep their looms in a state of inactivity. It appears certain, therefore, that had it not been for Hargreaves and Arkwright the progress of the art would have been stopped; but, happily, these men were ready for their time.

It was in 1760 that James Hargreaves, a weaver at Stanhill, near Church, in Lancashire, invented the *carding-engine*, and he, in conjunction with the grandfather of the late Sir Robert Peel, erected carding-engines, for carding cotton, at Blackburn. Seven years afterwards, this ingenious mechanic invented the spinning-jenny, incomparably the greatest stride ever made in the progress of any particular branch of art by any one invention. It is said that the idea was suggested to him by seeing a spinning-wheel continue its motion for some time after it had been overset. The story is pretty, but I fear it must be classed with that of Newton and the apple, and Callimachus and the acanthus. It is sufficient to record the stern fact that, in 1767, Hargreaves constructed a very rude spinning-jenny, containing eight spindles, which he subsequently enlarged to eighty.

It was in 1769 that Richard Arkwright, a Preston barber, obtained his first patent for a spinning-machine, the principle of which consisted in combining the drawing process, by means of two rollers, with the spindle and fly of the domestic spinning-wheel. The rollers here were made to do the work previously allotted to the finger and thumb, and the story goes that this part of the process was suggested to him by seeing a red-hot bar of iron elongated by pressure between two rollers. Richard Arkwright also improved the carding-engine, by substituting a toothed metal plate for a roller with tin plates, fixed like the floats of a water-wheel. The effect of this was to take the cotton off the cards in a uniform continuous fleece, and it constitutes one of the most beautiful operations in the whole art of cotton-spinning. It has been objected against Richard Arkwright that he was not the original inventor of these machines; that he was no mechanic; that he stole his ideas from John Kay, a Warrington watchmaker; that, in fine, he committed every crime that is usually charged against a man who is found guilty of being successful:—but it is quite certain that an attempt to upset his patents upon these grounds miserably failed in the Court of King's Bench; and it is clear that whether he were the original inventor or not, he was the first man who had the practical genius to render those principles effective, and, if for that

* Before Arkwright invented the spinning-frame all cotton stuffs were made with flax warps; these being stronger and smoother than cotton yarn could then be made.

alone, he is entitled to the respect and admiration of posterity.

It is a black spot in the history of cotton manufacture that the great inventions of Arkwright and Hargreaves were received by the working classes with the most savage and obstinate opposition; that they mobbed the dwelling and destroyed the property of the ingenious inventor of the jenny, and drove him to die in penury and unknown; that they chased Richard Arkwright from Nottingham to Preston, and from Preston to Cromford, in Derbyshire,—where at last he found a haven, and where he built a mill, worked by water-power,* and a house, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his days. I do not wish to dwell unnecessarily upon this painful topic, but it should render us a little distrustful of the impelling sense of the operative classes, when we find that they have invariably and with lawless violence opposed the introduction of great mechanical improvements. Some of these terrible convulsions are within the recollection of living men. After referring to the violence with which the great fathers of cotton-spinning had been treated, and to the secret combinations, vitriol-throwing, and assassinations in Glasgow, Sir James Kay Shuttleworth testifies:—"I have myself seen crowds of machine-breakers dispersed, not without bloodshed. I saw an Irish mob 'run a-muck' in Manchester, and, in two or three hours, before interrupted by the military, gut several mills of power-looms in Ancoats, and burn one to the ground near St. Michael's Church. The resistance to the steam-loom prevented its introduction for many years in the neighbourhood of Burnley, and gave to the Ashton, Hyde, and Staleybridge district a prodigious start in the race of competition. In like manner, machine-printing, the self-acting mule, and many of the minor inventions which have lightened and economised labour, to the advantage both of the capitalist and workmen, have encountered resistance. There have always been men above the working classes, either incapable of discerning an abstract principle, or too passionate for calm, searching thought, or swayed by selfish or party motives, who have in such struggles taught the false and wicked doctrine of a necessary antagonism between Capital and Labour." It is a subject for great thankfulness and congratulation that these feelings are less violently manifested than before, but I fear that they are not the less deep-seated or powerful on that account.

The third great epoch in the history of cotton-spinning occurred about ten years after the invention of Arkwright's spinning-frame, when Samuel Crompton, of Hall-in-the-Wood, near Bolton, invented the *mule*. This extraordinary machine is a combination of the principles involved in Hargreaves's *jenny* and Arkwright's *spinning-frame*, and its great effect consisted not so much in increasing the production as in enabling the spinner to produce yarn of much finer quality than had ever before been attempted. The effect of this invention may be gathered from the fact that, up to that time, the fabric called muslin had never been attempted in this country; but that within two years after the invention (1787) 500,000 pieces of muslin were made in Bolton, Glasgow, and Paisley. The power of this machine in taking the utmost possible advantage of the tenacity of cotton-wool was exemplified at the Great Exhibition of 1851, when a piece of muslin was exhibited by Messrs. Mair and Son, of Glasgow, made with No. 5048 yarn, spun by T. Houldsworth and Co., of Manchester. This is quite as extraordinary as the Dacca muslin, or "woven wind" of India,† which is manufactured by hand, a power far better adapted for delicate fabrics than that of steam.

So highly was this mule-spun yarn prized upon its introduction, that the Glasgow manufacturers at first paid for the finest description no less a sum than *twenty guineas per pound*! The rapidity with which this mode of spinning spread through the country may be imagined, when it is known that in 1832 the number of mule-spindles working in

the country was computed at *eight millions*, and that it is thought by practical men, that at the present day that enormous total must at least be trebled.

I will endeavour by a few startling, but (I believe) unquestionable calculations, to illustrate the effect of the great inventions enumerated upon the cotton-manufacture of the country. It is computed that the entire stock of yarn produced annually in this kingdom, before the introduction of the spinning-frame, did not exceed the produce of forty thousand modern spindles, and that eighty spinners with modern first-class mules would now produce as much yarn as *twenty millions* of spinners with one-thread spinning-wheels.

Before the introduction of machinery, cotton goods were so expensive, that they were only worn by the rich. Even so late as 1790, the average price of cotton-stuff was about six shillings a yard, and in 1810 it was about two shillings and sixpence: the same class of stuff would now range at about *threepence*. Twenty years after the invention of the spinning-frame the price of a sort of yarn much used in making calico was thirty-eight shillings per pound: now it is about *tenpence*. In 1760, the total value of cotton goods manufactured in Great Britain, was estimated at 200,000*l.*: in the month of December, 1833, the exports alone of cotton manufactures and cotton yarn were rated at 2,927,023*l.* In 1781, the exports of cotton yarn were estimated at 96,788 lbs.—in 1832 they had risen to 74,500,000 lbs. In 1781 (fourteen years after the invention of the jenny), the total imports of raw cotton wool were 5,198,788 lbs.; and in 1853, the cotton sold for home consumption at the *Liverpool market alone*, amounted to 834,584,400 lbs.

The immense advantages bestowed upon the country by mechanical inventions have not escaped the notice of our neighbours and rivals. "Watt," said the celebrated civil engineer, M. Dupin, in an address to the mechanics of Paris in 1832—"Watt improves the steam-engine, and this single improvement causes the industry of England to make an immense stride. This machine represents, at the present time, the power of *three hundred thousand* horses, or of *two millions* of men, strong and well fitted for labour, who should work day and night without interruption and without repose, to augment the riches of a country not more than two-thirds the extent of France. A hair-dresser invents, or at least brings into action, a machine for spinning cotton; this alone gives to British industry an immense superiority. Only fifty years after this great discovery more than *one million* of the inhabitants of England are employed in those operations which depend, directly or indirectly, on the action of this machine. Lastly, England exports cotton, spun and woven by an admirable system of machinery, to the value of *four hundred millions* of francs yearly. The Indies, so long superior to Europe, the Indies are conquered in their turn. The British navigator travels in quest of the cotton of India—brings it from a distance of four thousand leagues—commits it to an operation of Arkwright's machine, and of those that are attached to it—carries back their products to the East—making them travel again four thousand leagues—and in spite of the loss of time, in spite of the enormous expense incurred by this voyage of eight thousand leagues, the cotton manufactured by the machinery of England becomes less costly than the cotton of India spun and woven by the hand near the field that produced it, and sold at the nearest market. So great is the power of the progress of machinery."

To illustrate the effect of this state of things upon the working classes, one fact alone will suffice. In estimating, the other day, the amount of wages paid weekly throughout the cotton-district, for the purpose of assessment in raising the defence-fund to assist the Preston manufacturers, it was estimated at 250,000*l.* So that the sum of money paid weekly to the cotton operatives exceeds by twenty per cent. the total annual value of the cotton manufactures of the kingdom *ninety-three years ago*.

Narrowing our inquiry to Preston alone, the rapidity of advance becomes still more manifest. In 1836, the total number of operatives employed in the cotton manufacture of Preston was estimated at 8500; it is now nearly 30,000. When Preston is in full activity it produces more than *two thousand miles of cloth per week*;* and the effect

of its present partial inactivity is to withdraw 70,000 pieces of shirting from the Manchester market.

One most important reflection is suggested by the consideration of these extraordinary facts, viz., how long this mighty producing power could be suffered to proceed without filling the market to repletion? How far, in fact, the manufacturers themselves are amenable to the charge of killing the goose that lays these golden eggs? I must leave, however, to another chapter the discussion of this important point.

JAMES LOWE.

A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

THE first question suggested to a philosophic observer by the opening of the Great British Parliament is—why open the Great British Parliament? The enlightened Despotism—of clever Ministers and a conscientious Prince Consort, both uncontrolled—except by each other—which was in progress during the recess, seems to have answered very well: and, at any rate, the odd Liberal journals, which have been putting questions in large type ever since August, 1853, must now be convinced that Parliament only shelters the enlightened Despotism in enhancing and rendering more respectable its vigorous irresponsibility. For is it not obvious that the Parliament, on Tuesday, met only to give *carte blanche* to the Ministry, and to pronounce a hurried but positive acquittal of the Court?

The manifest fact of the day is, that the country has unbounded confidence in the Parliament, and that the Parliament offers unbounded allegiance to the Ministry: and the second question consequently suggested by the Speech from the Throne on Tuesday—why recommend, oh, your Majesty, a Reform of the Great British Parliament?

The eccentric principle of the consummate organisation of the Great British Parliament is palpable, at the outset, in the initiatory pageantry of the "Opening." In every arrangement of the dramatic pomp there is to be observed a remarkable system of constitutional delusion. In the day the people were hissing the Court, on the assumption that the Court governed, and had no right to govern. In the evening the Ministers, amid the plaudits of loyal Houses, were demonstrating that the Court had a right to govern, and that the Court did govern.

"The people" were in the streets on Tuesday. Surrey had poured over Westminster-bridge into Palace-yards and the Park her acute costermongery—a melancholy race: filthy, deformed, debased, savage—a people the dismal sin of a civilised and Christian capital; and they roared cheers for a Mohammedan ambassador, and they roared execrations for a Christian prince—their Sovereign's husband. Why? From the fine sympathies of a people spoiled by the traditional faith that they are free. They cheered M. Mussurus because he represents the oppressed, and they hissed Prince Albert because they believe Prince Albert has sided with an oppressor. But the roars were not respectable roars. The roars were roaring mistakes. This was "public opinion" in England; but you could not esteem it. Ignorant and impotent, these unhappy wretches did not manifest any right to roar. Was Prince Albert interfering with them? If the populace of St. Petersburg hissed the Czar for not driving the British out of Burmah, they would be just as logical and just as ludicrous as the populace of London in hissing the Court for not ejecting Russia from the Principalities. Past the costermongers on Tuesday drove carriage after carriage, to the number of hundreds, conveying to the new Palace at Westminster refined and powerful men, beautiful and resplendent women; those being the class who govern the costermongers, and with whom the costermongers have as slight a constitutional political connexion as a Russian peasant maintains with a Russian prince. Yet the costermongers, excited by costermonger journalism, yelled and yahed at the Court, because the Court was supposed to interfere sometimes with the arrangements of the governors of the costermongers.—The Prince, screamed at, being a man who has spent his manhood in the attempt to cleanse the persons, cheapen the food, ornament the clothing, and refine the mind of the great British, self-governed, costermongery.

All the ceremonies and all the facts of the opening of our Parliament are surprising. The speech from

* From the fact of Arkwright's spinning-frame being originally worked by water-power, it took the name of the *Water-Spinning-Frame*. The *Throstle-Frame* is merely an improvement of this, and the yarn used for warp usually made by throstle-spinning is to this day called *Water-Twist*.

† It is calculated that twenty yards of the yarn used for the Dacca muslin weighs one grain, and that a pound of cotton may be spun into thread reaching 115 miles. In England, a pound of cotton has been spun to reach 167 miles, but no machinery in the country could have woven such yarn.

* Estimating the average quality of this cloth as 16 pick, 60 reed, 40 inch shirting, the unravelled threads would extend 9,250,000 miles, or *spicards of four hundred and thirteen times round the earth*.

the Throne is not a speech from the Throne, but a speech from Downing-street; and it is not spoken to Parliament, but to Peereesses and their female relatives—Parliament, Lords and Commons, having got the speech in their paper on their breakfast tables some hours earlier. Thus sham commences: sham proceeds with; and with sham concludes the British Parliament. As it is in the beginning so it is in the end.

A formula, justified by the eliminations of Tuesday, would seem to be this:—The country has very little to do with the Parliament; the Parliament has but a very indirect control over the Ministers; and the Ministers must necessarily always, in the first place, consult the Court.

The "defence" of the Prince Consort was humorous to an exemplar degree. "Vile calumnies," said Lords Aberdeen and John Russell, are all those statements which have been made by low Radical and high Tory newspapers, and which go to the contradiction of the well-established popular belief that Prince Albert never interferes in Great British politics. Lord Aberdeen was husky with his premeditated passion. Lord John Russell mispronounced with emphasis when they spoke of the degradation of the duty they had to perform in repelling the atrocious fabrications of the newspapers. And then they proceeded to show, in great detail, and in Lord John's case, with an artful clearness of statement which excited the highest admiration, and in Lord Aberdeen's case, with a vigorous warmth which elicited sympathy, that Lord Melbourne had advised the Queen to consult the Prince in everything: that she had taken that advice, and had consulted the Prince in everything: that the Prince was ordinarily present at all the interviews between the Queen and her Ministers: that the Prince, in such interviews, and in private consultations with the Queen on public affairs, acted as her Majesty's private secretary: and that the experience of her successive Ministers was, that the Prince repeatedly suggested to the Ministers, and that the Ministers found the greatest advantage in his suggestions. This was elaborately shown to be the constitutional position of the Prince Consort: that he was co-equal with the Queen: the inference being that as he was the distinctest and cleverest individuality, he was superior, in practical power, to the Queen. In regard to the army, it was shown by Lords John Russell and Aberdeen that, the Queen being head of the army, the Prince, both as Prince Consort, as Field Marshal, and as senior colonel in the Guards, had the most absolute right to the most absolute control in the affairs of the army; and that though he had declined the office of Commander-in-Chief, which would have not increased his power, but would have made him responsible, he nevertheless did command the Commander-in-Chief; and Lord Hardinge added the declaration, confirming the explanations of the constitutional Ministers, that he (Lord Hardinge) was proud of being so commanded. Then came Lord Derby: with an insult to the Queen: and a sneer at the country. His opinion was, that when a Minister had to deal with a female Sovereign, who could know nothing of politics, it was a great advantage to have, at hand, a sensible Prince Consort, as a communicating medium. He went on to say, that there was no greater delusion of which this country was guilty than to suppose that the Sovereign of England was "a mere automaton." The Sovereign of this country does exercise a "vast and salutary control over public affairs." Thus: the Sovereign is Prince Albert: and Prince Albert, according to one who ought to know, does exercise a vast and salutary control over the public affairs of Great Britons. And this the Parliament, Lords and Commons, cheered as a complete vindication of Prince Albert from the suspicions recently directed against him by a jealous costermongery:—who believe that a Cabinet of Lords is the mere slave of William Williams, and William Arthur Wilkinson, and Apsley Pellat—enlightened Members for Lambeth and Southwark.

Observe that the Parliament was taken completely by surprise by the Ministerial revelations. Not a dozen Members had ever heard of Lord Melbourne's advice to the Throne. Not a dozen Members had ever heard that the Duke had been so silly as to offer the Command-in-Chief to the Court, and that the Court had declined so risky a glory. The belief of the Parliament, as the belief of the people, had until

then been, probably, that the Queen never meddled with Ministers—certainly that the Prince never did. But the Ministers who acted on Tuesday as counsel for the Prince, who had unwisely put himself on trial, spoke in so matter-of-course a manner as to the constitutionality of the position which they revealed, that no one, for the moment, thought of a comment, or of withholding the cheer—particularly as it occurred to many that some Court friend was taking notes of the names who cheered loudest. In watching the small points—whether the Prince ever wrote to a Foreign Minister at a Foreign Court, &c., &c.—the great point was overlooked. The great point was this: that the Queen reigns, and that Prince Albert governs. I, for one, would say—Good: why should not Prince Albert, who is cleverest, govern as well as Lord Aberdeen or Lord Derby, or other territorial princes? But the point being established, it would be fair in the costermongery to stay at home sedately on the occasions of the opening of Parliament. Was it because they took such view, that the Radical benches in the House of Commons cheered loudest the Ministerial defence of the Court?

Lord John's justification of the circumstance that the Court governs is, that, so far, the Court has governed well; and his suggestion is that Parliament may permit it to govern, because, so far, Parliament and Court have not quarrelled. Does not this suggest that the Court and the Parliament—or the Ministers—divide the Government—Parliament having its own way in Bermondsey, and the Prince obtaining his on the Continent of Europe? And, it being at last announced that the Great British have a chief governor in a Prince Consort, should not the Great British require from the Prince Consort some explanation of his policy? Yes; if the theory happened to be the fact of the constitution. But Parliament fails in getting an explanation even from Ministers. Parliament meets, it is supposed, to hear news about the "Eastern Question." Accordingly, Ministers rise and state: "We will this (Tuesday) night lay the papers on the table." All the vast constitutional machinery set in motion to bring 1500 sages together in two splendid chambers results in—papers being laid on tables! All the M.P.'s know what that means—a Foreign-office Blue Book, with all the important matter eliminated out of consideration to the "public service." Mr. Henry Baillie, who has been a Minister, says, in the Commons, "I don't want to wait for a Blue Book—I know what a Blue Book is," the remark eliciting "laughter." In the Lords, Lord Clarendon speaks for an hour; he has detailed in jerky English, and in a dreamy manner, the course of British foreign policy during the last twelve months; and he is warmly applauded by the Duke of Argyll, who wishes to keep on good terms with the Whigs, as he means to be Premier. Then rises Lord Derby and whistles a criticism; whistles it because the Rupert is aging, and losing his teeth; and in the course of the criticism this sentence occurs—Lord Derby being a chief in politics who might naturally pretend to be better informed than the costermongers:—"What are we doing at this moment in the East? I say, my Lords, what are we doing? (Loud cries of Hear, hear, from all the Tory Lords awake.) Why, my Lords, I know not." The concluding phrase being very solemnly whistled. In the course of the same criticism, Lord Derby refers to the resignation and return to power, of Lord Palmerston. What was the meaning of that? he asks. A Home Secretary is a great personage; the movements of such a personage must interest Parliament, and I will insist on a full explanation. (Hear, hear, from all the Lords who take public affairs as an excitement, and cultivate curiosity.) Lord Aberdeen replies. I deny the right of the noble Earl, says the Premier, to ask for an explanation. (Duke of Argyll cheers—Privy Seal has no functions but to cheer on general grounds.) The noble Earl has no right to ask, because though Lord Palmerston went out he came back again; the event, therefore, is no event, and though the noble Earl may insist on an explanation, he is a cleverer fellow than I take him to be if he gits more out of me than I'm inclined to tell. (Cheers and laughter—Privy Seal in convulsions.) Thus, another startling doctrine: a great department may be given up by a great man; and the great man may go back to the great department: and in the meantime, thinking that he

's out finally, the Premier's journal may abuse the great man as an awful Tory who has no business in a Reforming Cabinet: but Parliament has no right to inquire particulars—public shall know nothing. Take other instances of odd disturbance of constitutional theories. Lord Clanciarde attacked the Government for their reticence of information about the Eastern affair, and he contrasted their secrecy with the openness of the French Government with the French public. Lord Clarendon replied, with a flannelly voice, and a stuffy manner: "Oh!—ah!—yes, that's all very well. In France they've no Parliament: and so, you see, the Government sends the news to the *Moniteur*. But we—that's a different affair; we have a Parliament—it is the custom here for the Government to withhold news until the Parliament meets: and then, in due course, comes the Blue Book of 'papers.'" Lord Clarendon was fully convinced that he had settled Lord Clanciarde; and Ministerial Peers cheered; and the public will see—what a great advantage it is, when there's danger of a war, to have a Parliament, which may not meet until the war is begun. Lord Malmesbury, obviously bewildered, groaned a very severe speech. He had been abused, he sobbed and said, for sticking to Louis Napoleon; but he would like to know, he moaned, what they would do now without a French alliance. Lord Malmesbury has only one idea—has only performed one action—the desirability of a French alliance; his having cultivated that alliance: and so his speech on Tuesday was to the air:—

"Souvenez vous de Jemappes?
Souvenez vous de Valmy?
J'étais dans vos rangs à Jemappes;
J'étais dans vos rangs à Valmy."

He sobbingly congratulated Government that Louis Napoleon had been too magnanimous to take notice of Sir James Graham's and Sir C. Wood's hustings' anti-Napoleonic speeches. But why had Louis Napoleon been magnanimous? Because he understands this country, said Malmesbury. He knows what to use no stronger word I will call—the eccentricities of Englishmen; and he knows that what an English Minister says is valuable or valueless, real or assumed, just according to the position in which he may happen to speak. And, at this point, wailing over his country, Malmesbury appeared to weep; but rallied to remark upon the disrespect shown to Parliament by the Ministers, in refusing to Parliament a despatch (last session), which immediately afterwards they sent to the *Times*. It was very disrespectful, Lord Malmesbury said; and it convinced him (here he was gloomily hysterical) that there were four estates in the realm; and that the Queen was not the first, and the Lords were not the second. But what was more disrespectful to the Peers than not giving them despatches, was Lord Clarendon's conduct when Lord Malmesbury, his predecessor in the Foreign-office, was speaking, answering Lord Clarendon. Was he solemnly listening on the Minister's bench? No; he was up in the galleries, chatting with the Peereesses! Lord Malmesbury does not intimidate him; and, indeed, Lord Malmesbury's epigram about the estates of the realm did not produce an extensive impression, for nobody was listening to Lord Malmesbury. Why, it may here be asked, were the statesmen generally so hard on journalism on Tuesday? The Tories abused the "low Radical prints," and the Government men were shocked at the disloyalty of the High-Church organs. In both cases because of their stupid fabrications and their improper language. Yet notice the conclusion of the scene in the Upper House on Tuesday. Lord Derby (just fresh from a visit to Windsor) made, formally, the extraordinary allegation that the first thing the Queen heard of Lord Palmerston's resignation was from the *Times* newspaper. Lord Aberdeen said—"In saying that, the noble earl states that which is not." There was one peer circulating a stupid *gobe-mouche*; and another peer using bad language. But Lord Derby is not to be outdone: he could beat the *Morning Advertiser*, both in the stupidity of his anecdotes and the badness of his language: so he returned on Lord Aberdeen. "If the noble earl says that I am responsible for what the Tory organs have been saying of the Court, he says that which is not." Lord Derby was violent in his repudiation of all newspapers: his repudiation implied contempt for journalism: and yet Tory

journalism will go on dreadfully faithful to this "distinguished statesman."

It was evident on Tuesday that this distinguished statesman is not getting on. The "Opposition" was a farce—it is dead: and Mr. Disraeli's galvanic phrases will not resuscitate it. His speech was even less effective, or more damaging, than Lord Derby's. Lord Derby was petty, ill-tempered, and ill-conditioned, in his criticisms: but there the mischief ended, being simply personal. But of Mr. Disraeli it was expected that he would speak a speech to create a party: and he spoke only a speech which Lord John could tear to pieces. Granted that Lord John has become vigorous and masculine again, which assuredly he has,—the bracing climate of a Coalition Cabinet agreeing with him: but, surely, Mr. Disraeli should have been equal to something better than rapid verbiage, with which a Lord John Russell could make the House of Commons merry? Mr. Disraeli clearly said, though affecting reserve, most of what he had got to say on the two testing questions—Russia and Reform: and what he did say, must be accepted as weak and ill-advised. Against the Ministry's foreign policy he set no better,—he set none at all: and on Reform he said what will shatter all the strength he personally and his "personal following" derived from a popular hope that they were soaring out of old Toryism. A Reform Bill, while a war was raging, was "madness:" and under any circumstances he could take his stand on the Bill of '32. Mr. Disraeli struggling in the morass of Finality!—what a spectacle for the regaleme of moral biographers, sensitive about the sentiments of a new generation! His allusion to Pitt's policy on Reform was infelicitous,—the more so that the reference was at second-hand; that be-Bond-street-ed mellow dandy, Mr. Liddell, having the same evening, offered to Lord John—so kind—the same advice, not to press on a Reform Bill.—Lord John's answer being, that Mr. Pitt was wrong in giving up reform, and peculiarly wrong in rushing into a war which cost us about 600,000,000*l.* Altogether, the Opposition blundered in assigning enthusiastic reforming tendencies to the Ministry; it is just the character that will serve them, as against the Tories; and it is just the character of which, in all probability, they are the least guilty. Mr. Disraeli made but one "point" in his not fortunate and precipitate oration. He insisted on a distinction being drawn between curing corruption and perfecting the representation. His followers cheered this as something good. But it was not new. That night Mr. Hayter had given notices of two sets of Reform Bills: one applying to corruption; the other, to representation. A party can't be kept together by quibbles;—certainly not by quibbles which are anticipated by the party's opponents. Ministers are confidently contemptuous to the Opposition. Lord Aberdeen treated Lord Derby with disdain; and though Lord Aberdeen speaks very badly and clumsily—having to be jogged at every point by the Duke of Newcastle—and getting out a sentence as he would get out a tooth, yet the manner is not conveyed to the world; the reporters only report the matter. And even those who mention that Lord Aberdeen's straggling sentences recall Charles Townshend's jokes about "minute guns," have to admit that the minute guns are well shot. Lord Derby's mindless fluency is found out; Mr. Disraeli's cleverness is useless disconnected with a policy: and what hope is there of a party which in a demonstration on the Address could produce no better champions than moaning Malmesbury, abortive Baillie, and ludicrous Liddell? The Ministers don't even affect to keep up the decencies of appearance. When Lord Aberdeen was coarsely joking in the Lords, Lord Palmerston was standing behind the throne; and part of the throne having come down under the pressure of a crowd of Commoners, whose own house was just up, Lord Palmerston, it was seen from the galleries, made a joke on the point—doubtless with a reference to the Prince Consort—and Lord Aberdeen could not get on for the laughter got up by his colleague. Again, when Lord John, in the Commons, was answering Mr. Disraeli, all the Ministers on the Treasury bench, Sir James Graham and Mr. Wilson excepted, deliberately went off to sleep! Most contemptuous of all, however, is this fact: Lord

John said, replying to the Opposition leaders, that he thought he might safely leave the defence of the foreign policy of the Government to Sir Robert Peel,—then sitting behind Mr. Disraeli! It has come to this in our Great British Parliament: that a great Government is to stand or fall according to the speech of a fine, dashing, manly fellow, who would be a hit as a guardsman, but whom God never blessed with a single original idea. Lord John, however, only spoke a general feeling. Sir Robert was listened to with as much attention as his father ever got—cheered by all sides, he was so English and so hearty, in his denunciations of Russia: and yet Sir Robert made a speech which was but a brisk *rechauffé* of the recess's common-places. Yet this is better than Blifil's:—whose hash would have been cold.

The week has been a specimen of the session: great topics on Tuesday; small matters next day, and every day since—a plunge from eternal destinies to turn-pike acts. Only four days, and see the number of gages thrown down into the lists:—foreign policy, and representative institutions, by Lord Aberdeen and Lord John; sewers reform, by Lord Palmerston; innumerable reforms by Mr. Gladstone (that proposed on Thursday being likely to save from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* per annum); Church reform, by the Marquis of Blandford; educational reform, by Lord Eglintoun; bribery, corruption, and intimidation reform, by Sir F. Kelly; mercantile marine reform, by Mr. Cardwell (who last night gave up the last shred of the "flag that braved," &c., by throwing open the coasting trade—strangest of all—no one opposing it); law reform, by the Lord Chancellor; and, last, the comment on all the other proposals—Sir John Pakington's motion for a Committee to inquire how the House of Commons is to manage to get through its work. Parliament is in need of extensive reforms from within; and Sir John Pakington, a shrewd, industrious man, is precisely the personage to head such a Committee—which, let us hope, will aid the Speaker, who is of an innovating turn of mind, in revolutionising effete and cumbersome Parliamentary precedents. Two reforms I would suggest, were I a witness, for the facilitation of Parliamentary business:—A session to last, with vacations, all the year round: and a more general resort to the plan of "laying papers on the table"—that is to say, the writing instead of speaking such speeches as are proposals and explanations like Budgets, and introductory orations on bills like a Reform Bill.

Saturday Morning.

"A STRANGER."

THE GERMAN POWERS.

III.

ALLIANCE OF ENGLAND WITH A "CONSTITUTIONAL PRUSSIA."

THE most bigoted and exclusive theorists of constitutional monarchy are generally ready to make some allowances for the difference of situations and of times. With Charles the First moderate monarchy was impracticable. Other courses were necessary. The Hohenzollerns are Stuarts. If one is Jeroboam, his successor will be Rehoboam. The words pronounced by Frederic William IV. before the Vereinigte Lantag (United Assembly) are the key to the policy of the House of Hohenzollern. Let it be remembered how the King of Prussia, in a soldier's dress, convulsively clutching the hilt of his sword, shouting, swearing, striking his breast, pronounced before the assembled deputies a speech in which the epilepsy of the nervous despot was agreeably mingled with the feudal romanticism and the sombre zealotry of a mediæval monk. "It is not a Parliament I have assembled," he exclaimed; "remember that, gentlemen, remember that! I do not grant you a charter. *Between myself and God there must not be a bit of paper.* I will never give up my divine right; I will never share my Crown with representatives of the people. You are not representatives! No! I will transmit my Crown intact to my successor, as I have received it from my God. I will have nothing to say to ideas of Constitutionalism. The magistracy comes from God. 'I and my house, we will serve the Lord.'"

This sentimental tyrant—this mountebank of absolutism—this Haschmaschine of the right divine—was not changed by the Revolution of 1848. But our space compels us to defer a sketch of the Prussian

Government in 1847-1848. We pass over the annals of 1848, which, however, are full of evidence of the effrontery, the bigoted obstinacy, and the despotism cruelty, the secret treason, and the shameless perfidy of the Prussian Government. We will confine ourselves to the year 1849, in which we find the British Government playing a certain part in relation to the Prussian Union.

In 1849, the Government of Berlin ordered the Prussian Deputies to the National Assembly of Frankfurt to withdraw. The King of Prussia rejected with sarcastic raillery the offer of the crown of "Emperor of the Germans," which had been offered him by those traitors to the German revolution, the Prussian party in the Assembly. Frederick William IV., famous for his rhymes and *bon mots*, pronounced the famous apothegm, "Against democrats there is no safety but in soldiers." (In German this saying was in rhyme.) The Prussian army, the line and the landwehr, was mobilised to tread out the last spark of liberty represented by the German Parliament, and by the revolution of the south-west of Germany. But the better to assure the triumph of Absolutism, the old tactics of 1813, 1815, &c., were resumed: the King of Prussia, in accord with those of Hanover and Saxony, *promised Germany a liberal constitution.* This was the renowned "Prussian Union," or the Alliance of the Three Kings. It was said in England that Catholic, despotic Austria would never be dislodged from her position in Germany, and that the liberal elements would group themselves under the Hegemonia of a thoroughly constitutional Prussia. Now, we affirm that the Court of Great Britain never from the beginning believed in Prussian constitutionalism, and that the British Ambassador at Berlin sought only to favour the cordial understanding between the German absolutist courts.

The Prussian Union was declared as a *rapprochement* of Germany to British institutions. An admirable farce to amuse a club of Pickwickians! Read the letters and confidential notes exchanged between the Austrian Archduke, Vicar of the German Empire, the British Ambassador at Berlin, and the Prussian Government. Nothing is talked of in all this correspondence but the best method of crushing the last vestiges of liberty, and of establishing and increasing dynastic influence, whether of the camarilla of Berlin, or of the camarilla of Vienna. Of constitutionalism, in all these letters, not a word! But plenty about bayonets, about artillery, about 10,000 men, 20,000 men, 50,000 men. These are the last arguments of the King of Prussia. These were the topics of tender interest to Lord Westmoreland. Strong in the last argument of kings, and strong in the support of the British Government, Frederick William IV. invaded Saxony, Rhenish Bavaria, Baden. Twenty fields of battle, thousands of slain, the *Salle* of the courts-martial, and the silent horrors of the casemate, bear witness with their dumb eloquence to the constitutional efforts of the man who will not suffer a bit of paper to be between him and his God. And Lord Westmoreland praised, applauded this royal terrorism with voice and pen.

The Prussian Union, the promise of a liberal constitution for all Germany—a promise apparently supported by the British Government, detached from the democratic movement in Germany a part of the middle classes. But for this hypocritical union, the cause of the democracy was triumphant. A portion of the middle classes in Germany believed in the constitutional desires of the Cabinet of St. James's as they had believed in the intention of Lord Palmerston not to let the South fall into the hands of Russia. It is now proved that Lord Palmerston and the Earl of Westmoreland, whether by weakness or from principle, betrayed, the one the commercial interests, the other the liberal sympathies of the British nation to Russia. The Government of St. Petersburg was actively at work in '48 and '49, to bring about an understanding between the Courts of Austria and Prussia, divided by rival ambitions. In ordinary times the Muscovite policy had been rather to foment discords between the German Powers; but after the revolution Russia laboured to knit close the links of the reactionary interdependencies.

A vast plan of legitimist restoration, and a complete remodelling of the map of Europe, were evidently the design of the Czar at that moment. This is not a personal supposition. The letters of Guizot the semi-official articles of the Prussian, Austrian, and French organs, and the notes exchanged between the German Governments and that of France, prove that, in the calculation of the Russian Cabinet, and in the decrees of the influential camarillas in Germany, the masses of Russian, Bavarian, and Austrian troops, which were concentrating towards the Rhine, and towards the frontiers of Switzerland, were destined for an *ulterior* destination. The proximate object was the subjugation of the German revolution on the Upper Rhine. The ulterior destination of these armies was the invasion of Switzerland, the reconstitution of the Sonderbund under the Austrian protectorate, the repossession of Neuchâtel by Prussia, the abolition of the constitutional régime

in Piedmont. In France, after the 13th of June, when Changarnier, the confidant of the Bourbons, was invested with full military powers, a royalist coup d'état was projected. It was, in the Russian point of view, giving the forces of the West something to do. For in Hungary the weakness of Austria was sure to bring a Russian intervention, and Hungary is so nicely situated for parleying across the Danube with those terrible Turks, the infidel foes of the Russian-Greek orthodoxy.

Surely the place of England was not beside these royalist conspiracies. Yet that was the place which the Earl of Westmoreland chose in the name of England. He gave his instrumental services to the reactionary union. We are not afraid of that diplomatic nobleman repudiating his correspondence of 1849, so easily as he has denied the pretended correspondence with the Prince Consort.

The letters addressed in 1849, to "Dear Lord Westmoreland," by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austrian Archduke John, are in evidence to prove that Austria had a tried and trusty confidant in the plenipotentiary of Queen Victoria. The fire-eaters of absolutism exhale before the British Ambassador the noble sentiments of their souls. They even confide to him the secrets of their military plans. The German Parliament, that ridiculously modest assembly, condemned by the democratic people, is called in their letters to Lord Westmoreland, the "Rump Parliament," the centre of the "anarchical party," the "comité du salut public." The Minister of the Austrian Archduke tells the British Ambassador in confidence that all Western Germany, the army included, is ready to make common cause with the popular movement, and that, therefore, only the most energetic military measures can save the old régime and annihilate the German constitution, sworn to by all the princes. From this situation is drawn the conclusion that the courts of Austria and Prussia must unite against the defenders of liberty. "The question," writes General Jochmus, Minister of the Austrian Archduke, in a private and confidential note to Lord Westmoreland, "is the combat of order against anarchy, and we augment the material means and the moral influence of the anarchists by furnishing them the pretence that the Prussian troops come as such and not as troops of the Empire. I believe, dear Lord Westmoreland, that you would render a great service to the cause of order, if you were to represent in proper quarters what I have taken the liberty to state to you."

(Whilst it was being naïvely believed in England that Lord Westmoreland was exerting himself to establish constitutionalism in Germany, that noble lord was, in fact, the letter-carrier and agent of Austria. Through the medium of the Austrian Archduke John, the sanguinary Court of Vienna made use of the British Ambassador to restore the *status quo ante* the Revolution, the old régime, "the old confederation" to quote the precise words. The Earl of Westmoreland accepted this Austrian commission with the greatest "delight;" he expressed himself "very happy" to receive Austrian letters. He displayed so much zeal in the service that "immediately upon the receipt of the letter," he "waited upon Count Brandenburg, and communicated it confidentially to him." Westmoreland knew well that the Prussian Government, for its own part, also meant anything rather than constitutionalism; therefore he endeavoured to concert between Austria and Prussia, the most energetic military measures against the popular movements, and to bring Absolutist Prussia to an union with Absolutist Austria, as that union had officially existed before 1848. Count Brandenburg, a furious defender of the divine right of kings, but an ambitious man, opposed this absolute submission of Prussia to Austria. It was agreed, however, in an interview between Lord Westmoreland and Count Brandenburg, that by mutual consent of the two Powers, "all the troops belonging to the Prussian Bund, which were now acting against the south of Germany, should act with those under the direction of the Archduke, and be commanded by General Peuker, and if they take possession of Landau or of Rastatt, it would be in the name of the Empire, and in no sense of Prussia. There ought, therefore, to be no jealousy against the Prussian troops, either in Wurtemberg or Baden, and their co-operation with the troops acting under the orders of the Archduke ought to remove any which might have arisen." &c. (Letter of the Earl of Westmoreland. Berlin, June 9, 1849.)

The British Ambassador appeared proud of his first success. His Austrian zeal was unbounded. "I have thus" he writes, in a hurried manner, to save the post, "given you confidentially the answers I received from Count Brandenburg. I hope they may not be unsatisfactory to you. I shall be delighted to receive any further communications. Believe me, very sincerely, yours, Westmoreland." Accordingly, the Austrian Archduke and his Ministry "were much pleased," and "remarked with peculiar satisfaction" the result of the efforts of the British Ambassador. Still it was desired at Frankfurt and at Vienna that the Prussian Government

should completely and publicly throw off the liberal mask. Once more the Earl of Westmoreland was despatched to try the re-establishment, pure and simple, of the old Absolutist Confederation of 1815. On the part of Austria, there was no secrecy towards the Plenipotentiary of Queen Victoria. The plan of the military movements against Baden and Rhenish Bavaria is unrolled before his eyes. Even the secret relations established by the Austrian Ministry at Frankfurt with traitorous members of the Provisional Government of Baden are disclosed to him. "You know, dear Lord Westmoreland," writes the Ministry of the Austrian Archduke, "you know, as an old and experienced soldier, that unity in command is the greatest desideratum in the field, and we have, moreover, in the present case, to take care not to furnish weapons to the enemy. The anarchical party must not be allowed to proclaim that the forces moving against Baden came as Prussian troops, or as forces of what they will term the Prussian Sonderbund. Prussia, in her own well-understood interest . . . is much safer if she only interferes in Baden either in virtue of the stipulations of the old Confederation, or by the sanction of the central power" (of the Austrian Archduke), "which also has been acknowledged by all the German Governments." At the end of this Austrian missive an appeal is made to absolutist sentiments. It is remarked to the Minister of a constitutional power that Prussia and Austria should unite now that the German Parliament was dissolved.

The Earl of Westmoreland was indefatigable to receive an Austrian commission, and to run with it to Count Brandenburg was the work of a moment. We have before us another letter of the noble earl, addressed to "my dear General Jochmus." Our British Ambassador recounts agreeably the military measures taken by Prussia to crush the popular movements; and he gives the result of his efforts to persuade Count Brandenburg in favour of a restoration uniting the absolutist Courts of Vienna and Berlin. Lord Westmoreland did not succeed to the extent of his wishes with the Prussian Cabinet. The Government of Berlin, for all its absolutism, still had its own ambitious reserves. It aspired to assert its own military and dynastic influence. The British Ambassador exhausted all his energies to conciliate the ambitions of Austria and Prussia: in this he acted in accord with the views of the Government of St. Petersburg. In his letter of June 17, 1849, the Earl of Westmoreland writes to the Minister of the Austrian Archduke, that "he is sorry to have been unable to prevail upon Count Brandenburg to enter into the Austrian alliance without dynastic reserves. He fears that perhaps the written acts of the Prussian Government may not have been animated with the same friendly spirit towards Austria in which he (Count Brandenburg) entered with me (Westmoreland) into the whole subject."

One consolation only remained still to the British Ambassador. It was that the big guns and the musketry would soon have done for liberty. The annihilation by grape-shot of the German revolution—that was his end and aim. He had no doubt that the victory of the Prussian and Austrian troops would bring about later the triumph of pure absolutism, and the preponderance of that great barbarian power which was already advancing towards Hungary. We know that power; over the corpse of the Hungarian and German revolution it has marched to the assault of Turkey. Rejoicing at the massacre, the carnage, the bombardment, executed by the royalist troops on their march against the south-west of Germany, the Earl of Westmoreland writes to the Minister of the Austrian Archduke:—"I hope the successes of the Prussian as well as of the Imperial troops have continued to be as satisfactory as those which have already been reported here.—Believe me, very sincerely, yours, Westmoreland."

The success of the Prussian and Austrian troops resulted gradually in the complete disavowal of the Prussian Union, the re-establishment of the Frankfurt Diet, the Austro-Prussian Customs Union, effected under the auspices of the Czar, in view of a hostile rencontre of Germany with Great Britain. There are people who for some time were not awake to the import of the Prussian Union. The Earl of Westmoreland may boast of not having been one of the dupes. What is now patent to all the world, the absolutist union of the two German Courts, the British Ambassador strove to effect from the very first. If he did not quite succeed in 1849, it is because a distinct ambition and a dynastic rivalry dominating for the moment at Berlin, proved an obstacle to the design.

Here we are reminded of the words pronounced by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons last Tuesday, when he referred with contemptuous triumph to the letter addressed to a morning journal by Lord Westmoreland. "Thus," said Lord John, "whenever these allegations take specific shape, it is obvious that they can be at once contradicted and disproved in the most decided manner."

We beg to offer to the Earl of Westmoreland a new occasion for triumphant contradictions. Perhaps it may be found more easy to demolish tap-room oracles, than to refute the written words of official documents.

MR. HOLLIN'S WEAVERS

WHEN we noticed the circular of the operatives at Preston last week, respecting Mr. Hollin's mill, we had not seen the answer which he put forth, and which is complete. The weaver, E. Mason, terminated her week on the Thursday, and not on the Saturday; and if she found a considerable piece of cloth in her loom at the commencement, she also left a piece unfinished. Her actual average earnings during the six weeks ending on October the 29th, were 13s. 5d. a week. The work at which this sum is earned is not properly speaking skilled labour, and it might be learned by a girl of ordinary capacity in two months. We have also received a circular of the operatives, showing that the prices are lower in Preston than they are elsewhere, a very proper reason why those who are capable of obtaining employment elsewhere, should obtain it.

BENEFITS OF CONCERT.

THE Leeds Co-operative Flour and Provision Society, formerly called the District Flour Mill Society, again illustrates the benefits of concert. Their capital is comparatively small; their operations are nearly confined to flour; yet in the last year they obtained a return of 4387. upon 5543. During the last half-year their profits were 2247. With a balance on hand, or rather an accumulation of capital, originally subscribed in small sums, and profits upon that, of 6261., at the end of 1852, they have a balance of 9258. at the end of 1853. They have more business than they can execute, and are only hindered from extension to meet it by the limited means at their disposal. Let us hope they will not divide, but accumulate and extend their basis of trade.

Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON

THE TABLE-TALK OF THE CZAR.

February 4th.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—One of your weekly contemporaries has published a conversation of a distinguished gentleman with the Emperor Nicholas. I have no reason to doubt the authenticity of this interview, but I have many things to oppose to the assertion of the Czar. I have always regarded the generosity of the Russians, in not taking Constantinople in 1829, as a sufficiently pleasant fable. The attitude of the western powers was then decidedly hostile, and the Russian army at Adrianople was reduced to 35,000 men. It could scarcely hold the population of that city in check, much less march on the capital. In short, peace was a positive boon to Russia at that time.

I can well believe that the French Ambassador wrote a letter to the Czar, expressing his 'joy as a Christian and a soldier' at the 'victory' of Sinope. In 1849, at Warsaw, another French Ambassador, and general too, was seen on his knees at the *Te Deum* in honour of the Russian conquest of Hungary. I do not find it so easy to follow the Czar in his religious theory. It escapes me how questions of that nature can be said to have gained importance of late. It rather occurs to me that the hatred of the Christians against the Mussulmans in 1854 may be considered about equal to their hatred of the Jews at the same epoch—a hatred considerably diminished in intensity. There was a time when neither France nor Spain would have shown sympathy for the Turk.

No doubt the indecision of the English Cabinet has increased the probabilities of war, but we must make allowance for fatalities. Had it not been for that indecision the common enemy of all liberties would not have advanced so far. *Qui vires verba.*

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

IVAN GOLOVIN.

P. S. I cannot help noticing another contradiction into which the Czar appears to have been betrayed. He says he was not ready for war, and, in the same breath, that he could have taken Constantinople when Prince Menschikoff returned from his mission.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

It is never agreeable to make a mistake, still less so by a mistake to commit an injustice. Of course in our critical capacity we commit mistakes, not being of the privileged class which has immunity from error; but that we never shrink from avowing them, when pointed out, our readers know. Matters of opinion cannot be rectified, matters of fact may. A courteous correspondent, conceiving that we have committed a mistake which is an injustice in our article last week on *Balder*, wishes to rectify it, assuring us that *Balder* does not murder his wife and child. We should have preferred the authority of the poet himself for this denial. It is true, considerable obscurity hangs over the death of the child; so much so, that until the friendly critic in the *Athenæum* stated in plain unmisgiving language that *Balder* had murdered his child, we confess no such solution of the mystery occurred to us; but we accepted it as coming from one who seemed to know. About the wife's murder we entertain no doubt whatever, and we beg to refer our correspondent to the last three pages of the poem for proof; if more proof were needed than the lines:—

"I struck unkindly—
And I have murdered thee before thy time."

And:—

"If there be heaven this is not
To kill thee. Now."

If, however, we have misapprehended the poet, while we apologise for the mistake, let us express a hope that it may not be without its use in suggesting to him the necessity of attending a little more to clearness in the structure of his works.

This is Magazine week. In looking at the pile before us, and silently estimating the amount of labour, hope, ambition there gathered into ephemeral existence, a curious feeling arises as to the very different aspect the articles severally present to their writers, and to us, the critics. To each writer each article is of interest and importance; to us how few, and the effect how transitory! We do not even come unbiassed; for the effect of reading one Magazine after another, passing from subject to subject in swift alternation, is really not favourable to a just impression. And yet we remember in old days, when our own appearance in a Magazine was a matter of keen interest, it seemed to us strange that the critics should pass our papers over with no mention, or with mention so slight as to be quite disproportionate to their importance in our eyes. Critics, we have long forgiven those omissions! May we, too, in our turn, be forgiven?

Blackwood this month is very interesting. We note an increasing tendency towards the metamorphosis of a Magazine into a Review in *Blackwood*, always remarkable for its reviews. In this number, out of eight articles five are devoted to recent publications, one of them a German work. Besides these, there are the *Quiet Heart* continued—a paper on the *National Gallery*, which we have not read, being thoroughly wearied of that subject—and a *Glance at Turkish History*, which every one will read, for its bearing on present affairs. The writer informs us that:—

"The only modern European nations which pretend to be mentioned in Scripture, are the Turks and Russians. Historical antiquaries tell us that Togarmah is used for Turk; and they affirm, that the Targhithas of Herodotus, whom the Scythians called the founder of their nation, and the son of Jupiter, is identical with the Togarmah of Moses and Ezekiel."

"The Russians can boast of much more precise notice in Scripture than their enemies the Turks. Though their name is omitted in our translation, it occurs in the Septuagint three times, and under the peculiar ethnic denomination in which it reappears in the Byzantine historians. The word is 'Pōs', and on this name Gibbon remarks: 'Among the Greeks this national appellation has a singular form as an uncleanable word; but he does not mention that it is found in the Septuagint. The second and third verses of the thirty-eighth chapter of Ezekiel, according to the Greek text, read thus: 'Son of man, set thy face against Gog, the land of Magog, the chief prince of the Russians (ἀρχὸν τῶν Ρῶς), Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him, and say, Thus saith the Lord God, I am against thee, O chief prince of the Russians, Meshech and Tubal.' And again, in the first verse of the thirty-ninth chapter: 'Therefore, son of man, prophesy against Gog, and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of the Russians, Meshech and Tubal.'"

Knew you that, before? In concluding his sketch the writer says:—

"The great feature of the Ottoman Empire at the present day is this, that capital cannot be profitably employed in the improvement of the soil, and, strange to say, this peculiar feature of its social condition is common to the new-created monarchy of Greece, and to no other European state. Trade often flourishes, cities increase in population and wealth, gardens, vineyards, and orchards grow up round the towns from the overflow of commercial profits, but the canker is in the heart of the agricultural population; a yoke of land receives the same quantity of seed it did a hundred years ago, and the same number of families cultivate the same fields. This is the most favourable view of the case; but the fact is, that many of the richest plains of Thrace, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, are uncultivated, and have only the wolf and the jackal for their tenants. In Greece, too, under the scientific administration of King Otho, and with a representative government à la Française, we see the plains of Thebes, Messenia, and Tripolizza, present the same agricultural system which they did under the Ottoman government, and agriculture in general quite as much neglected and more despised. Now the line of demarcation between civilisation and barbarism really consists in the profitable investment of capital in the soil. The agricultural population is the basis of a national existence, and unless the soil produce two bushels of wheat from the same surface where one formerly grew, and fatten two sheep where one merely gathered a subsistence, a nation gains little in strength and well-being, though its cities double their population. The political and social problem, with regard to the governments of Constantinople and Athens, which now requires a solution, is, to determine the causes that prevent the cultivation of wheat on the European and Asiatic coasts of the Archipelago, and in the fertile island of Cyprus."

MACAULAY, as an orator, meets with a severe—we think too severe—yet acute critic; and GRAY is charmingly treated of by another writer, from whom we must borrow the following pleasant illustration:—

"Turning over the pages of a work of Meinert Feuchtersleben on Medical Psychology, we met with the remark, that the effort to enjoy or attend to some of our finer sensations was not always followed by an increase in those pleasurable sensations. Thus, he says, we distend our nostrils and inspire vigorously when we would take our fill of some agreeable odour, and yet certain of the more refined scents escape us by this very effort to seize and appropriate them. Passing by a bed of violets, the flowers themselves perhaps unseen, how charming a fragrance has hit upon the unwarned sense! Turn back, and strenuously inhale for the very purpose of enjoying it more fully, the fairy favour has escaped you. It floated on the air, playing with the sense of him who sought not for it; but quite refusing to be fed upon voraciously by the prying and dilated nostril. Something like this may be observed in the case of poetical enjoyment. The susceptible reader feels it, though he sought it not, and the more varied the culture of his mind, the more likely is he to be visited by this pleasure; but it will not be captured by any effort of hard, vigorous attention, or the merely scrutinising intellect. The poetry of the verse, like the fragrance of the violet, will not be rudely seized; and he who knits his brow and strains his faculty of thought over the light and musical page may wonder how it happens that the charm grows less as his desire to fix and to appropriate it has increased."

We feel disposed to question the justice of one of his criticisms. Speaking of GRAY's artificial imagery, the writer adds:—

"We might venture even to take for an instance the popular line—
'E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires.'"

This quotation has obtained a general currency: 'ashes' and their 'fires' bear each other out so well, that the careless reader has no doubt the meaning is all right. Yet we suspect that very many quote the line without any distinct meaning whatever attached to it. And for this reason—no Englishman would ever naturally have expressed the sentiment in this language. Men, at least some men, are careful where they shall lay their bones; they would sleep amongst their fathers, their countrymen, their children; some seek a retired spot, some where friends will congregate; some choose the sun, and some the shadow. They endure the dead clay that will be lying under the turf with some vague sentiment of feeling—with some residue of the old affections. Would any Englishman, impressed with such a feeling, go back in imagination to classic times, when the body was burnt, and speak of 'ashes' which never will exist, rather than of the slumbering corpse which his eye must be following, as he speaks, into the earth? Here is the whole stanza:—

"On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
Some pious drops the closing eye requires,
E'en from the tomb the voice of nature cries,
E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires."

In this criticism it is assumed that GRAY was thinking of the classic times; but surely our own scriptural language warrants the use of the word "ashes?"

FRASER opens with the first part of a review of RUSKIN, who is an inexhaustible subject for critics. The very able examination of the *Corporation of London* is continued, and so is *General Bounce*. The poems of MATTHEW ARNOLD are warmly praised; and the topic—Russia—is touched on in an article, *Russia, Finland, Norway, Denmark, and the Baltic*.

The *New Monthly* has a sketch of LESSING, only too brief for proper effect; a portrait of PRESCOTT, from the pleasant pencil of Sir NATHANIEL; the usual amount of stories and magazine papers; and some fragments from the *Commonplace Book of a Deceased Author*, from which we borrow this pretty illustration, which only needs verse to be a poem:—

"SHADOWS."

"I have an odd fancy that those shapeless, beckoning forms that waver about old walls by fire-light, are the absorbed shadows of former days drawn forth again by the heat, as excitement revives images on the memory. Messengers from the silent land, mute, and unable to tell their errand."

There is a touch of our old dramatists in this on

"FAME."

"Fame! why it's a mere question of the delay of oblivion; a pyramid stays the muddy tide for a few centuries, Persepolis and Baalbec dam it back for a little longer, and Jones's marble slab only fourteen years. What a petrified sneer at fame is a monument with the name erased, and the lying list of virtues and charities remaining. The widest ripple does not last long. The merry undertaker will sing as he nails together your last packing-case; will leave half the work undone if he can, undisturbed; and will laugh as he rings down his empty pewter-pot upon the lid. The crones who lay you out will quarrel with angry faces over your calm corpse for their wages of gin and snuff. The sexton who knells for you will grudge the time from his warm inn-fire; and the gravedigger, who is so rheumatic he can hardly hobble out of the grave now he's dug it, curses its dampness, and wishes people would not die and want to be buried in wet weather."

In this month's *Tait* there is a story—*The Assassin of the Pas de Calais*—which we defy you to begin and leave unread. At first we thought a younger brother of EDGAR POE was holding us with a spell; but as the *dénouement* began to unfold itself, we saw that no such writer was at work. The conclusion of the story, and explanation of the mystery, are commonplace and disappointing. *The Mythology of the World to Come* is a startling title: on examination, the article turns out to be the commencement of a series of excursions into Hades and the Future World as depicted by the poets—a good subject, and in cunning hands. Let us recommend to the writer, when he comes to treat of VIRGIL, a glance at PIERRE LEROUX's work, *De l'Humanité*. It is many years since we read the work, but (if memory serves) there is some curious matter in it. In this paper there is a fragment from HOMER translated (with an apology for its irregularity and absence of metre, which would have been needless had the writer printed it in prose), and we transfer it, that the reader may taste the quality of HOMER when not disguised by POE:

"She spoke to me all this; but I with troubled heart,
Longing to feel again my mother's dear embrace,
Three times enfolded her, and thrice out of my hands
She glided like a shadow, she fled like a dream.
Then came up in my heart greater heaviness of grief,
And I sent forth, speaking to her, flying words of speech;
'Oh my own mother, why dost thou not stay for me,
That here too in Hades, with touching of the hands,
We may fondly revel in cold comfort of woe?
Oh is it but a picture that the scornful Proserpine

Has made to delude me, to add to my despair?
I said this, and then answered me the venerable mother:
'Oh me, it is not so, my child, thou most unhappy of men,
And Prosperine, high daughter of Jove, has not deceived thee.
It is the rule of nature, when mortals come to die,
For they have not any flesh, or sinews and bones,
But those have been consumed by the funeral fire,
When the white corpse was abandoned by the soul
Which flew out of the body and flits like a dream.
But grieve not thou, but hence, and seek the light of day,
And tell thy wife at home what things thou sawest here.'

In *Bentley's Miscellany* we have the commencement of *Haps and Mishaps of a Tour in Europe in 1853*, by Miss GRACE GREENWOOD. The opening does not promise much. *Aspen Court* is continued, and the *Turkish Campaigns on the Danube* are historically glanced at. People who are not tired of campaigns under Wellington will read the *Random Recollections* here brought together.

In the *Dublin University Magazine* we have the first of a series on *The Food of the Irish*. This is one devoted to a very long and interesting article on the Potato. The pleasant articles of theatrical reminiscence and research, communicated under the title of the *Garriek Club*, let no one pass over.

If there is anything we have to say of the other Magazines, it must be said next week, for here our reading stops. By way of reminder, let it be noted that Professor JOHNSTON'S serial—*The Chemistry of Common Life*—which appears with the Magazines, treats this month of *The Bread we eat and the Beef we cook*. Also, let us mention *Orr's Circle of the Sciences*, the first monthly part of which contains, for tenpence, a mass of valuable instruction. The fourth part of Dr. SHERIDAN MUSPRATT'S elaborate work on *Chemistry as applied to Arts and Manufactures*, contains Alcohol and Alchemy. The articles in this Dictionary of Chemistry are prepared with great care.

CHARACTERS FROM LORD HOLLAND'S MEMOIRS.

Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time. By Henry Richard Lord Holland. Edited by his Son. Vol. II. Price 9s. 6d. Longman and Co.

Now that disappointment has had its expression, and the too great expectations have subsided, this second volume of *Lord Holland's Memoirs* will no doubt be more properly appreciated, and will meet with more success than the first volume could secure.

A great contribution to history, even on the personal side, it is not; a history of the Whig Party it is not. But on a lower level the book may stand out with some prominence, as the agreeable and not uninteresting memoirs of an accomplished man who moved amid great people and great events. We read it with ease and entertainment; not provoked by its pages to be very critical, and our notice of it will be confined to a few personal sketches which may amuse our readers.

Let us begin with

THE CHARACTER OF THURLOW.

"Lord Thurlow had been Lord High Chancellor for fourteen years; and had then and since enjoyed great reputation for depth of thought and reach of understanding, for erudition in classical literature and learning in his profession, for inflexible integrity and sternness of character, which assumed the appearance of austerity and occasionally even of brutality. As a judge, he was revered throughout the country, especially by churchmen and magistrates. As a debater, he was dreaded in Parliament for near twenty years; and even to the period of his death, the slightest word that dropped from his lips, though but to suggest an adjournment or move a summons, was greeted by a large portion of the House of Lords as an oracle of departing wisdom or a specimen of sarcastic wit unrivalled in any assembly. To sustain this tremendous character he had, in fact, little but a rugged brow and sagacious countenance, a deep yet sonorous voice, some happiness of expression without much perspicuity of thought, some learning more remarkable for its singularity than its accuracy or practical use, and a large portion of ponderous but impressive wit, supported by a studied contempt and scorn for his adversary and his audience. Mr. Fox said once with equal simplicity and drollery, 'I suppose no man was ever so wise as Thurlow looks, for that is impossible.' His language, his manner, his public delivery, and even his conduct were all of a piece with his looks; all calculated to inspire the world with a high notion of his gravity, learning, or wisdom; but all assumed for the purpose of concealing the real scantiness of his attainments, the timidity as well as obscurity of his understanding, and the yet more grievous defects of his disposition and principles. He contrived in all his speeches to conjure up an opinion in his audience that choice, not necessity, induced him to leave the knotty points of the question untouched, that he fully understood them, that his knowledge on the subject was of no superficial kind, that he drew his conclusions from long and laborious researches, from premises established on abstruse and philosophical reasonings. He thus implied that the real grounds on which his opinion rested lay too deep for common intellects to fathom; and that not thinking it worth while to pursue a train of argument which his hearers were unequal to follow, he had contented himself with loitering on his way, playing with the subject on the surface, and exposing the absurdities of his adversaries. This last he often did with much wit, and always with prodigious success. His humour, like the trunk of the elephant, even in its gambols and freaks, seemed to indicate a hidden and bulky strength, which, if called into action, would prove the most formidable of the forest. To give some instances of his manner: when, in the House of Commons Mr. Wedderburn, on the question whether General Burgoyne, a prisoner on parole, could vote, had displayed his eloquence somewhat affectedly by relating and commenting upon the story of Regulus, Thurlow humorously treated the classical allusion, on which the polished orator plumed himself, as a dry legal precedent, and began his remarks thereon with saying, 'With respect to the case of *Regulus*, on which my learned friend has laid such a stress.' Again in the Lords, when Lord Stormont had been detailing with a solemnity usual to him the transactions of a meeting of country gentlemen at the Thatched House Tavern, Lord Thurlow described that part of the grave diplomatic senator's harangue as 'that which the noble Viscount in the green riband may have chanced to hear at the ale-house.' And in a similar strain, when Bishop Horsley had quoted Mungo Park's description of the dresses of the native females of Africa as a proof that society had there reached some degree of refinement, he observed upon the argument with this preface: 'With respect to the black women with their white petticoats, as far as they or their petticoats have any relation to the question, my reverend and learned friend who has introduced them will allow,' &c. In scouting the professions, exposing the cant, and lowering the fopperies of his opponents he was always successful; but with their arguments I never heard him grapple. He could often confound and perplex an adversary; he seldom if ever threw any real light on a question."

Of two things one: either Lord Thurlow's manner must have been of such a wonderfully impressive, suggestive kind that it intensified trifles, and made the feeblest witticisms ring like the finest wit (just as a popular comic

actor makes the house "roar" with jokes, which, on being repeated by one of the laughers to his friend or family, sound altogether dismal in their want of humour), or else Thurlow's age was an age in which a modicum of humour went much further than it would go now. Pray turn back to the specimens Lord Holland has quoted, and consider them for one instant as the memorabilia of one who could move the House of Commons into fits of laughter! That much of Thurlow's effect was due to manner Lord Holland himself distinctly shows. There is something very charming in the concluding passage, where Lord Holland seems almost to regret his strictures:—

"The authority of his judgments has declined with the loss of the deep gruff voice and dark ruffled brow which used to enforce them. His will was said to betray much ignorance of law: it certainly manifested injustice of purpose and hardness of heart. But I seem to have caught a portion of his spirit in thus recording the bad qualities of a man against whom I never had the slightest motive for personal or political dislike. On the contrary, from his conversation I have derived some instruction and more amusement. While we sat together in Parliament, we were generally on the same side; and I received from him occasional assistance and countenance in debate. What I have written, however, I believe to be strictly true. If I have not softened the darker lines of his character, it is from indignation at the unmerited reputation which he so long enjoyed; and from conviction that one use of contemporary notes is to show those over whom adulation, accident, or hypocrisy shall cast a false and temporary varnish, that justice and truth may yet survive to scrape it off, and a faithful resemblance be ultimately preserved for posterity."

From the Chancellor let us pass to the hero:—

CHARACTER OF NELSON.

"Many particulars of his life and character are worth preserving. If one were inclined to give any credit to those omens and unaccountable misgivings which by a French man are termed *présentiments*, the conduct of the people of London on the return of Lord Nelson in 1805, and his own language, might be alleged as evidence of such feelings, if not with better reason, at least with more truth than the facts on which such belief is generally founded. The enthusiasm inspired by his name on his appearance after the West India cruise in 1805 exceeded all that his victories off Egypt or in Denmark had at the time produced. No recent event had occurred to renew such feelings, yet every class of Englishmen seemed to have contracted additional fondness for his person, to take fresh interest in his concerns, and yet to harbour some melancholy presage of his impending fate. Hence, when he was named to a new command, it sounded as if a great victory was decreed; but the joy thus anticipated was mingled with many forebodings of a dreadful calamity attending upon it. He had himself expressed his conviction that he should outdo his former achievements, but should never return to enjoy the glories which he had acquired. His state of health possibly suggested such reflections, for it was at that time far from robust. There are, however, stronger proofs of his repeating such a persuasion on the day of the battle than the disposition to believe what is marvellous generally stops to collect, or, when it does, is able to find. The victory of Trafalgar is a subject for history, and will be accurately recorded. The three admirals died within the year: Villeneuve put an end to his own existence from vexation and despair; Gravina, a gallant, active officer and worthy man, died of his wounds and the unskillful treatment of them; and Nelson fell in the hour of victory, preserving in his last moments the characteristic features of his life—zeal for his country and profession, a love of glory, and a tender, affectionate recollection of his friends. As he was carried down from deck bleeding and exhausted, he gave distinct orders for the disentanglement of a rope which he perceived to be out of its place; and as he lay gasping in the agonies of death, when asked if the next in rank should succeed, he exclaimed with the ardour and jealousy of honour which animated him in action, 'Not while breath remains in my body!' adding, however, some kind expression of regard for the officer on whom command was to devolve on his decease. He avowed his hopes that Government, in conveying the national sense of the victory which he had obtained, would not overlook his person on earth to whom he was most attached, and that person was Lady Hamilton. His inquiries during the action were incessant and vehement; his exultation at the certainty of success unaffected and excessive. Throughout the last eventful minutes of his life, he was the same zealous, enthusiastic, and affectionate man as well as consummate seaman and kind yet vigilant commander, he had ever been. Of his person there are many representations, and will be nearly as many descriptions. It was insignificant, and announced none of the qualities of a commander; though his innumerable scars (for he had scarcely ever been in action without receiving a wound), the loss of an eye, and of an arm, and a weather-beaten countenance, marked the hard service he had seen, and gave him, at the age of fifty-two, all the appearance of a veteran. His greatness (for who shall gainsay the greatness of the conqueror of Aboukir, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar?) is a strong instance of the superiority of the heart over the head, and no slight proof that a warm imagination is more necessary ingredient in the composition of a hero than a sound understanding. Nelson was indeed a perfect seaman. He had, too, acquired by an exclusive and constant application to his profession, great knowledge of the management of a fleet, and of such tactics as are necessary to bring an enemy to engagement with advantage. His courage, his natural consequence of a boundless love of glory, and a devotion to his duty bordering on superstition, enabled him in the moment of danger to apply all the knowledge and exercise all the judgment he possessed. His faculties remained the same when those of other men were somewhat impaired by agitation, anxiety, sense of responsibility, or fear. His powers of mind seemed to rise, because in action they were comparatively greater; and that circumstance procured for him, from such as had witnessed him in those moments, a reputation for abilities which never appeared in his conversation, correspondence, opinions, or conduct elsewhere, and which in truth nature had not conferred upon him. St. Simon observes that goodness of heart and rectitude of intention will, upon great occasions, elevate and enlighten the understanding of very ordinary men; and the whole life of Nelson is a proof that, combined with disinterested devotion to a cause, they may become permanent and efficient substitutes for great abilities and exalted genius."

It may be worth while to record Lord Holland's opinion of the treatment Lady Hamilton received from the Government, especially when we have in mind the subsequent fruitless appeals made for Nelson's daughter Honoria:—

"Whether the Government, which had not the virtue to disown the bad actions that Lady Hamilton had seduced Lord Nelson to commit, did right to neglect his dying injunctions in her favour or not, is a nice question for political casuists, which I do not pretend to decide. Certain it is that she died near Calais in 1814, in great distress and even want. It is equally certain that her baneful ascendancy over Nelson's mind was the chief cause of his indefensible conduct at Naples; that neither he nor she was ever disavowed or discountenanced by our Court for that conduct; and that he retained his affection and gratitude to her to the last hour of his life."

The Prince Regent—"the first Gent in Europe"—as Jerrold calls him, does not present a very respectable figure in these pages; where, indeed, could he present a figure other than contemptible except in a circle of valets? He is in a new and ludicrous aspect presented by Lord Holland in this passage:—

"He was indeed at that time deeply engaged with his passion for Lady Hertford, contracted during his negotiations with her family to have Miss Seymour, their niece, under the care of Mrs. Fitzherbert. His health was reported to be bad, and his appearance confirmed the report. Those, however, who had made a study of his gallantries, recognized his usual system of love-making in these symptoms. He generally, it seems, assailed the hearts which he wished to carry by exciting their commiserations for his sufferings and their apprehensions for his health. With this view he actually submitted to be bled two or three times in the course of a night, when there was so little necessity for it that different

surgeons were introduced for the purpose, unknown to each other, lest they should object to so unusual a loss of blood."

Lovell—Sangrado! Knight-errantry on the reverse side of the tapestry appealing through weakness to the sympathies of the fair! He had heard how "Fity is akin to love," and so the dissolute, obese seducer adopted for device, "None but the weak deserve the Fair."

There was not much more dignity although more sincerity in his passion for Mrs. Fitzherbert:—

"In 1784, or early in 1785, the Prince of Wales was so deeply enamoured of Mrs. Fitzherbert that he was ready to make any sacrifice to obtain from that lady favours which she either, from indifference or scruple, persisted in refusing him. He did not conceal his passion, nor his despair at her leaving England for the Continent. Mrs. Fox, then Mrs. Armistead, who was living at St. Anne's, has repeatedly assured me that he came down thither more than once to converse with her and Mr. Fox on the subject; that he cried by the hour; that he testified the sincerity and violence of his passion and his despair by the most extravagant expressions and actions—rolling on the floor, striking his forehead, tearing his hair, falling into hysterics, and swearing that he would abandon the country, forego the crown, sell his jewels and plate, and scrape together a competence to fly with the object of his affections to America."

What a pity he did not go. Something worse than the mere ludicrous follows. The Prince married Mrs. Fitzherbert:—

"It was at the Prince's own earnest and repeated solicitations, not at Mrs. Fitzherbert's request, that any ceremony was resorted to. She knew it to be invalid in law; she thought it nonsense, and told the Prince so. In proof that such had been her uniform opinion, she adduced a very striking circumstance—namely, that no ceremony by a Roman Catholic priest took place at all, the most obvious method of allaying her scruples, had she any. I believe, therefore, she spoke with truth when she frankly owned 'that she had given herself up to him, exacted no conditions, trusted to his honour, and set no value on the ceremony which he insisted on having solemnised.'"

After this the Prince with his own hand wrote a deliberate denial in a letter to Fox, who wrote mentioning the reports of such a marriage, and imploring him if not too late to pause ere he committed an act so prejudicial to his interests. "Make yourself easy, my dear friend," wrote the Prince. "Believe me, the world will now soon be convinced that there not only is but never was any grounds for these reports, which have of late been so malevolently circulated." Believing in the word of a Prince so seriously given, Fox denied the marriage in the House of Commons.

"There is the strongest reason to suppose that neither correspondence nor the subsequent assurances, in whatever shape they were conveyed, were ever acknowledged to Mrs. Fitzherbert by the Prince. That lady, by her conduct on the denial and in her subsequent account of those transactions, has uniformly implied, first, that a ceremony had taken place previous to Mr. Fox's denial, in which she is indisputably correct; and secondly, that Mr. Fox had no authority to deny the marriage in the way he did, which false impression

she no doubt received from the Prince, who was naturally though weakly ashamed to avow his own disregard of truth by insinuating a want of accuracy, if not of veracity, in another. Mrs. Fitzherbert at the time did not disguise her resentment. She would not speak to Mr. Fox. There can be little doubt that she urged the Prince to take some step to procure a public disavowal of a declaration which he knew to be false, and had, according to all probability, assured her was not authorised by him. The Prince certainly not only abstained from remonstrance or correction of the statement to Mr. Fox himself, but never ventured to hint to him that he had exceeded his authority, or even been indiscreet in alleging it. But he spoke in some such strain to others; and he actually sent the next morning for Mr. Grey (Lord Howick and Earl Grey), who was then in high favour with him, and after much preamble, and pacing in a hurried manner about the room, exclaimed, 'Charles' (he always so called Mr. Fox) 'certainly went too far last night. You, my dear Grey, shall explain it' and then in distinct terms (as Grey has since the Prince's death assured me), though with prodigious agitation, owned that a ceremony had taken place. Mr. Grey observed that Mr. Fox must unquestionably suppose that he had authority for all he said; and that if there had been any mistake, it could only be rectified by his Royal Highness speaking to Mr. Fox himself, and setting him right on such matters as had been misunderstood between them. 'No other person can,' he added, 'be employed without questioning Mr. Fox's veracity, which nobody I presume is prepared to do.' This answer chagrined, disappointed, and agitated the Prince exceedingly; and after some exclamations of annoyance he threw himself on a sofa, muttering, 'Well, then, Sheridan must say something.' Accordingly Mr. Sheridan did come down to the House and utter some unintelligible sentimental trash about female delicacy, which implied the displeasure of the Prince and still more of Mrs. Fitzherbert at what had passed in Parliament, but did not directly or even remotely insinuate that what Mr. Fox had spoken was either beyond or without the authority of the Prince of Wales."

There are several pages about the unhappy wife of this Prince, whom Lord Holland thus summarily sketches:—

"And yet, whatever may be thought of the treatment to which she was exposed on her arrival in England, or of the malignity, and possibly the falsehood, of some of the charges subsequently brought against her, or of the somewhat vindictive prosecution of her when Queen—she was at best a strange woman, and a very sorry and uninteresting heroine. She had, they say, some talent, some pleasantry, some good-humour, and great spirit and courage. But she was utterly destitute of all female delicacy, and exhibited in the whole course of the transactions relating to herself very little feeling for anybody, and even very little regard for honour or truth, or even for the interests of those who were devoted to her, whether the people in the aggregate, or the individuals who enthusiastically espoused her cause. She avowed her dislike of many; she scarcely concealed her contempt for all. In short, to speak plainly, if not mad, she was a very worthless woman."

Before quitting this volume let us note the occasional glimpse we get of the state of morals at the time. E. g.: Pitt is said to have been a partner in the Faro Bank at Gossetree's. "At that period," adds Lord Holland, "many men of fashion and honour did not scruple to belong to such associations and to avow it. I mention the circumstance not in discredit of Mr. Pitt, but to prove by the example of so correct and decorous a man the temper and character of these times."

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

BARRINGTON.—Nov. 26, at Portland, Cape Town, the Hon. Mrs. Henry Barrington, a daughter.
BERGER.—Jan. 28, the wife of Lieutenant Berger, Prussian Academy of War, a daughter.
CARDEN.—Jan. 30, at the Priory, Templemore, Ireland, Lady Carden, a son and heir.
JACKSON.—Jan. 30, at Staindrop, the wife of Captain R. H. Jackson, a son.
LAKE.—Jan. 28, at Ramsgate, the wife of Captain Wiloughby J. Lake, R.N., a son.

MARRIAGES.

CHAPMAN—BENNING.—Feb. 2, at St John's, Nottingham, Edmund Chapman, Esq., of Barnet, Herts, son of Charles Chapman, Esq., of Balham-hill, Surrey, to Elizabeth, eldest surviving daughter of William Benning, Esq., of Nottingham and Fleet street.
CAMPBELL—VIBART.—Feb. 2, at St. Mary's, Bryanston-square, George Campbell, Esq., of the Inner Temple and Bengal Civil Service, son of Sir George Campbell, of Edenwood, Fibre, to Letitia Maria, daughter of the late Thomas Gowen Vibart, B.C.S.
MANSFIELD—MILNE.—Jan. 28, at South Place Chapel, by the Rev. J. S. Gilbert, Mr. M. P. Mansfield, to Miss Margaret Milne.
PHILLIPOTT—KITSON.—Jan. 23, at St. Mary Church, Torquay, Devon, by the vicar, the Rev. Alexander Watson, Captain John Scott Phillipotts, Sixty-sixth, or Goorkha, Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, son of the Lord Bishop of Exeter, to Susan, second daughter of the Rev. Thomas Kitson, of Shipway-house, Devon.

DEATHS.

BEATTIE.—Jan. 30, at the Wood, Sydenham-hill, Theresa wife of Alexander Beattie, Esq., and youngest daughter of the late Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Griffith Colpoys, R.C.N.
ELLIOT.—Dec. 20, at Simon's Town, Cape of Good Hope, Sir Henry Miers Elliot, K.C.B., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, third son of the late John Elliot, Esq., of Pimlico-lodge, Westminster, aged forty-five.
FRITH.—Jan. 23, at Southampton, Colonel W. H. L. Frith, of the Bengal Artillery, aged sixty-eight.
STRACHAN.—Jan. 28, at his residence, Clifden, Teignmouth, Devon, after a long and painful illness, Sir John Strachan, Bart., of Thornton, Shropshire, N.B., aged seventy.
STUART.—Jan. 14, at Nice, the Hon. William Stuart, barrister, fourth son of the Earl of Castlestuart, of Stuart-hall, county of Tyrone, Ireland.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, February 3, 1854.

HEAVY speculative and *bona fide* transactions in the Consol market have been the feature of the week, and although it is still nearly two weeks until the settling day, an eighth has been demanded for continuing the account until March, proving a heavy Bear account. The fluctuations, though continued, have not been such as the warlike news warranted, probably, as mostly is the case with such news, from its having been discounted in the market. Most stocks and shares have experienced a decline—Mexican Stock, as an exception, having risen nearly two-and-a-half per cent. during the week.

Considerable money purchases have increased the scarcity of ready stock, and the South Sea Company, it is said, has been selling its own stock very largely and investing in Consols to the same extent, giving another upward tendency to dis appoint the expectations of the Bears, who confidently expected, and still expect, a depreciation of 5 or even 10 per cent. of the present price. Should it be surmised, a heavy Bear account, and no very unfavourable news arrive, the scarcity of stock will doubtless show Consols at improved prices are the settlement on the 10th. The following closing prices of Consols will give a general idea of the market:—Saturday, 90½; Tuesday, 90½; Wednesday, 90½; Thursday, 90½; and after business, 91½ (these quotations being for money and account); opening yesterday (Friday) 90½, 91, and after business hours, 91½. Other shares closed at the following prices:—

Consols, 91½; Caledonian, 52½; Chester and Holyhead, 14½; Eastern Counties, 13½; Great Western, 82½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 64½; London and Blackwall, 71½; London, Brighton, and South Coast, ex div., 95½; London and North Western, 102½; London and South Western, 80½; Midland, 61½; Newbury and Abingdon, and Hereford, 6 to 5 dis.; North Staffordshire, 5½, 5 dis. ex div.; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 35½; South Eastern, 60½; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 63½; York and North Midland, 45½; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 3 to 2 dis.; East Indian, 21½; United Mexican, 71½; Ditto (Railway), 5½; Ditto, Pref., 14½; Madras, 3 dis. 4 pm.; Namur and Liege (with int.), 7½; Northern of France, 29½; Paris and Lyons, 12½; Paris and Orleans, 40½; Paris and Rouen, 36½; Rouen and Havre, 17½; Paris and Strasbourg, 24½; Sambre and Meuse, 8½; West Flanders, 34½; Western of France, 24½; Agria Frase, 4½; Linares, 5½; Imperial Brazil, 5½; United Mexican, 25½; London Chartered Bank of Australia, 4 dis. pm.; National of Ireland, 23½; Provincial of Ditto, 47½; Union of Australia, 66½, ex div.; Australian Agricultural, 41½, ex div.; British American Land, 68½; Canada, 75½; Crystal Palace, 1½; Peel River, 4 dis. par.; Scottish Australian Investment, 14½; South Australian Land, 36½; Van Diemen's Land, 13½.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, Feb. 3.

LOCAL TRADE.—The supplies of Wheat since Monday are moderate, and of Barley and Oats very short. There is a small attendance, and prices are nominally the same, with a very small amount of business doing. There is, however, an impression that greater activity will be manifested before long.

FRUITS TRADE.—Since this day week the trade in cargoes has been very quiet, and holders have been quite willing to give way in price where buyers have come forward. Of these, however, very few have appeared, except at a greater reduction than holders are willing to submit to. The demand from France has, for the time, altogether ceased, and the markets are all declining, while at Antwerp the houses are too full of stock to be able to take advantage of the dull markets to buy again. Stocks of Wheat in Ireland are short, but there is said to be a fair quantity of Flour on hand there, and both merchants and millers are acting with great caution. The chief sales this week have been several cargoes of Taganrog Ghirka 73s., Odessa Ghirka 70s. and 60s., Sandomirka 68s., all on passage. A cargo Polish Odessa arrived, 70s. 9d., and the *Carl* and *Emma*, Marianopol, arrived with fair report, at 78s., being 3s. per qr. less than was paid last week for *Jane* and *Elizabeth* Berdianski arrived.

We can buy to-day Sandomirka at 70s., Odessa Ghirka 68s., perhaps even at 67s., Marianopol 77s., Taganrog Ghirka

probably at 72s., new Galatz 72s., Roumelia 64s. to 65s. Saidi 55s., Behera 51s., Polish Odessa 60s.

The largest proportion of the ships loaded at Odessa continues to be sent to the Mediterranean.

Indian Corn.—Very little has been done this week in Maize. Only one sale has transpired—viz., a cargo of Mazagan shipping at 51s. per 480 lbs.

Beans and Barley are both neglected, and may be bought cheap—say Saidi Beans 45s. probably, and Oran Barley at 32s. cost, freight and insurance.

Nothing done in Rye.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	217	215	216	214	215	215
3 per Cent. Red.	91½	90½	90½	91½	91½	91½
3 per Cent. Con. An.	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½	91½
Consols for Account	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½	91½
3½ per Cent. An.	92½	91½	91½	92	92½	92½
New 5 per Cents. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans. 1860.	54	53	54	55	56	57
India Stock .....	.....	230	232	.....	.....	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000.	4 p	.....	4 p	5 p	.....	8 p
Ditto, under £1000.	12	12 p	10 p	10 p	14 p	2 p
Ex. Bills, £1000.	12	9 p	12 p	10 p	13 p	14 p
Ditto, £500.	12	9 p	12 p	10 p	13 p	14 p
Ditto, Small	12	12 p	12 p	10 p	13 p	14 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian Bonds	98	Russian Bonds, 5 per Cents 1852	105½
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents.	102	Russian 4½ per Cents.	89
Chilian 6 per Cents.	81½	Spanish 5 p. Ct. New Def. 19	.....
Danish 3 per Cents.	81½	Spanish Committee Cert. of Comp. not fun.	24
Ecuador Bonds	24½	Venezuela 3½ per Cents.	48
Mexican 5 per Cents.	24½	Belgian 4½ per Cents.	60½
Mexican 3 per Ct. for Acc. February 14	24½	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	60½
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	38	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	90½
Portuguese 3 p. Cts., 1848 .....	.....	.....	.....

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

By Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the performances will commence with the comic Drama, entitled *THE FIRST NIGHT*. Characters by Messrs. A. Wigan, Leslie, H. Cooper, Vincent; Miss Wyndham, and Miss P. Horton. After which *THE LOTTERY TICKET*. To conclude with *THE WANDERING MINSTREL*. Jem Bags, Mr. F. Robson.

EGYPTIAN HALL.—CONSTANTINOPLE.

NOBLE is now OPEN every day at 2½ o'clock, and every evening at 8. The Lecture is delivered by Mr. CHARLES KENNEY, and has been written by Mr. Albert Smith and Mr. Shirley Brooks. Admission, 1s.; reserved seats, 2s.

THE LIBRARY OF BOOKS, PRINTS,

and DRAWINGS of Ornamental Art useful in Trades, is open daily (except Saturday evening) from 10 till 9 at Marlborough House, Pall-mall. Admission free to Students of the Department of Science and Art—Other persons 6d. a week, 1s. and 6d. a month, or 10s. 6d. a year.

PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY.

THE EXHIBITION OF PHOTO-

GRAPHS and DAGUERRETYPES is now open, at the Gallery of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk-street, Pall-mall, in the morning, from 10 a.m. to half-past 4 p.m.; and in the evening, from 7 to 10 p.m. Admission, 1s. Catalogues, 6d.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.—A Soirée,

in honour of the Repeal of the Advertisement Duty, will be given by the Association to T. MILNER GIBSON, M.P., on Wednesday, February 8th, 1854, at the Whittington Club, Arundel-street, Strand. Sir John Villiers Shelley, Bart, M.P., in the Chair.—The Meeting will be addressed by Richard Cobden, M.P.; T. M. Gibson, M.P.; and by other Gentlemen.—Appropriate music by professional vocalists.—Single tickets, 1s. 6d., and double tickets (to admit two ladies, or a lady and gentleman), 2s. 6d., may be had of J. A. Novello, 69, Dean-street, and 24, Poultry; at the Whittington Club; and at the Office of the Association, 20, Great Cornmarket, Brunswick-square.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY or VIC-

TORY.—NELSON at the BATTLE of ST. VINCENT.—LEGGATT, HAYWARD, and LEGGATT beg to inform their patrons and friends, that T. Jones Barker's last grand historical PICTURE of NELSON RECEIVING the SWORDS from the vanquished officers on the quarter-deck of the SAN JOSEF, on the memorable 14th of February, 1797, at the battle of St. Vincent, is NOW ON VIEW at their Gallery, 79, Cornhill.

Court Circular, Nov. 24, 1853.—Windor.—“Messrs. Leggatt had the honour of submitting to her Majesty and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, Barker's painting of Nelson receiving the swords of the officers on the quarter-deck of the San Josef after the battle of St. Vincent.”

In consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather, the picture is exhibited by gaslight, and may be viewed from 10 till 6.

WHITTINGTON CLUB and METRO-

POLITAN ATHENÆUM.—Weekly Assemblies for Music and Dancing, Lectures, Classes, and Entertainments. Dining, Coffee, Smoking, and Drawing Rooms.—Library, Reading, and News Rooms, supplied with 30 Daily and 100 Weekly and Provincial Papers; in this respect offering special advantages to Literary Men. Subscriptions, Two Guineas the year; One Guinea the half-year. Ladies half these rates. Country Members, One Guinea the year. No Entrance Fee.

New Subscriptions date from the 1st of February. A Prospectus forwarded upon application. Lecture on Thursday, February 9th, on the Life and Genius of THOMAS MOORE. To commence at Eight o'clock. Members free, with the usual privileges for their friends. Non-Members, 1s.

HENRY Y. BRACE, Secretary.

37, Arundel-street, Strand.

REGISTERED AS THE ACT DIRECTS.

STEPHENS' IMPROVED PARALLEL

RULER.—In the use of the common Desk Ruler every person knows that there is a constant motion of the fingers to accompany the revolution of the Ruler; this motion, besides the inconvenience to the operator, occasions it to roll out of the parallel, and lines so ruled do not in any length of surface correspond. Another inconvenience in the common Ruler is, that, by its contact with the Pen, ink stains are left on the sides of the Ruler, which, in revolving, soil the fingers and the paper; both these inconveniences are removed by the above-named improved Ruler, which having the rollers underneath a flat upper surface, rolls over the paper without coming in contact with the fingers; and by a peculiarity of formation at the ruling edge the Pen is kept from contact with the ruling parts on the paper, so that soiling the fingers on the paper is completely prevented.

Rulers of various lengths, from seven to eighteen inches, at prices varying from 2s. 6d. to 5s.

Manufactured and Sold by the Proprietor, HENRY STEPHENS, 54, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road, London. Sold by all Booksellers and Stationers.

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NAVAL and MILITARY TAILORS, OUTFITTERS for INDIA and the COLONIES, 5, Princes-street, Hanover-square.

F and H deem it unnecessary to adopt any of the modern systems of advertisement. They enjoy the patronage and support of the most distinguished men of the day in social position, fortune, science, and literature; and whilst their order-books can boast of the most illustrious of names, their unrivalled cut is equally within the reach of the most limited in their means.

Liveries from the highest to the plainest style executed on the shortest notice.

The best Irish made Shirts, Six for 30s.; Coloured, Six for 21s.

THE COMFORT of a FIXED WATER-

CLOSET for £1.—Places in Gardens converted into comfortable Water-closets by the PATENT HERMETICALLY-SEALED PAN, with its self-acting water-trap valve, entirely preventing the return of cold air or effluvia. Price £1. Any carpenter can fix it in two hours. Also PATENT HERMETICALLY-SEALED INODOUROUS COMMODORES for the Sick-room, price £1 4s., £2 6s., and £3. A Prospectus with Engravings forwarded by enclosing a post-stamp. At FIFE and CO.'S, 26, Tavistock-street, Covent-garden.

CAUTION.—TO TRADESMEN, MER-

CHANTS, SHIPPERS, OUTFITTERS, &c.—Whereas it has lately come to my knowledge that some unprincipled person or persons have for some time past been imposing on the Public, by selling to the trade and others a spurious article under the name of BOND'S PERMANENT MARKING INK, this is to give notice, that I am the Original and sole Proprietor and Manufacturer of the said article, and do not employ any traveller, or authorise any person to represent themselves as coming from my establishment for the purpose of selling the said ink. This caution is published by me to prevent further imposition upon the public, and serious injury to myself, E. E. BOND, sole executrix and widow of the late John Bond, 28, Long-lane, West Smithfield, London.

ONE HUNDRED RIGHTS OF

CHOICE BY DRAWING, AND FIFTY RIGHTS OF CHOICE BY SENIORITY. At the Offices of the Conservative Land Society, 33, Norfolk-street, Strand, London, on Saturday at noon, on the 11th of February, there will be a Public Drawing for One Hundred Rights of Choice amongst the uncompleted shares, for priority of selection, on the various estates purchased for distribution amongst the members of the Conservative Land Society. On this occasion fifty shares will be added to the Order of Rights by seniority.

All persons taking shares up to the time of placing the numbers in the wheel on that day will be included in the drawing. Prospectuses, Rules, Plans of Estates, and the Annual Report and Audited Statement of Accounts may be had of

CHARLES LEWIS GRUNEISEN, Secretary.

ECONOMIC CARPET CLEANING and

GENERAL DYEING COMPANY. Head office, 482, New Oxford-street.—The CARPETS of a mansion, by a cheap and simple process, CLEANED, fit for use, before breakfast. Neither beating nor taking up essential. IN THE DYEING DEPARTMENT, all scientific improvements adopted. Orders punctually executed. Carpets, freed from dust, from 2s. 6d. to 5s. each.—EDWARD H. OSBORNE.

HEAL AND SON'S ILLUSTRATED

CATALOGUE OF BEDSTEADS, sent free by post. It contains designs and prices of upwards of One Hundred different Bedsteads in iron, brass, japanned wood, polished birch, mahogany, rosewood, and walnut tree-woods; also of every description of Bedding, Blankets, and Quilts.—Heal and Son, Bedstead and Bedding Manufacturers, 136, Tottenham Court-road.

ORANGES, Lemons.—100 of the very

best LEMONS for 6s., or a case containing nearly 500 for 25s.; real St. Michael Oranges, 4s., 5s., and 6s. per 100, or 22s. per case.

Delivered in London, and sent to all parts of the kingdom on receipt of a post-office order for the amount, by WILLIAM DEEKS, 7, Bow-street, Covent-garden. The trade supplied.

TEAS and COFFEES at MERCHANTS'

PRICES.

Congou Tea	3s., 3s. 2d., 3s. 4d.
Rare Souchong Tea	3s. 6d., 3s. 8d., 4s.
Best Assam Pekoe Souchong, a very extraordinary tea	4s. 4d.
Prime Gunpowder Tea	4s., 4s. 8d., 5s.
The best Gunpowder Tea	5s. 4d.

Prime Coffee, at 1s. and 1s. 2d. per lb.

The best Mocha and the best West India Coffee at 1s. 4d. Teas, Coffees, Spices, and all other Goods sent carriage free, by our own vans and carts, if within eight miles; and Teas, Coffees, and Spices sent carriage free to any part of England, if to the value of 40s. or upwards, by PHILLIPS and COMPANY, Tea and Colonial Merchants.

No. 8, KING WILLIAM-STREET, CITY, LONDON.

A general Price-Current, containing great advantages in the purchase of Tea, Coffee, and Colonial Produce, sent post free, on application. Sugars are supplied at Market Prices.

INSURRECTION IN CHINA.—TEAS

are advancing in Price, and from the disturbed state of the producing districts, the well-ascertained shortness of supply, and the increasing consumption, there is every probability of a considerable rise. We have not at present altered our quotations, and are still selling

The very Best Black Tea, at	s. d.
Good sound Congou	4 0 the pound.
Finest Pekoe ditto	3 0 "
Finest Gunpowder	3 8 "
Choice Coffee	1 0 "
Finest Homoeopathic Cocoa	1 0 "

This is the most pleasant and nutritious preparation of Cocoa.

For the convenience of our numerous customers, we retail the finest West India and Refined Sugars at market prices.

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. Parcels of Tea and Coffee, of the value of Two Pounds sterling, are sent, carriage free, to any part of England.

CULLINGHAM AND COMPANY.

Tea-merchants and Dealers,

27, SKINNER-STREET, SNOW-HILL, CITY.

KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.

During a period of more than 40 years this valuable medicine has triumphantly borne the severest test of public opinion, and upon that sound basis alone it has gradually but surely won its way to pre-eminence, until it is now universally acknowledged to be the most effectual, safe, and speedy remedy ever offered to the world for that large class of disease which affects the Pulmonary organs.

Prepared and sold in Boxes, 1s. 1d. and Tins, 2s. 6d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. each, by THOMAS KEATING, Chemist, &c., No. 79, St. Paul's Churchyard, London. Sold retail by all Druggists, &c., in the whole world.

N.B.—To prevent spurious imitations, please to observe that the words "Keating's Cough Lozenges" are engraven on the Government Stamp of each box, without which none are genuine.

RECENT TESTIMONIAL.

34, Wine-street, Bristol, August 7, 1853.

SIR.—It is with much pleasure I have to inform you of the benefit I received from your Lozenges. I was attacked with the typhus fever, during which time I had a violent cough, so that it kept me awake the greater part of the night. A friend persuaded me to try a box of your "Cough Lozenges," which I did, and am happy to say that with only one box of your valuable compound I was quite free from my cough.

You can make what use of this you please, for I think such a valuable medicine ought not to go unnoticed.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. T. TRUSCOTT.

Mr. Keating, 79, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

FENDERS, STOVES, and FIRE-IRONS.

Buyers of the above are requested, before finally deciding, to visit WILLIAM S. BURTON'S SHOW-ROOMS, 39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street), Nos. 1 & 2, Newman-street, and 4 & 5, Perry's-place. They are the largest in the world, and contain such an assortment of FENDERS, STOVES, RANGES, FIRE-IRONS, and GENERAL IRONMONGERY, as cannot be approached elsewhere, either for variety, novelty, beauty of design, or exquisiteness of workmanship. Bright Stoves, with bronzed ornaments and two sets of bars, 2l. 14s. to 5l. 10s.; ditto with ornate ornaments and two sets of bars, 5l. 10s. to 12l. 12s.; Bronzed Fenders complete, with standards, from 7s. to 37l.; Steel Fenders from 2l. 15s. to 6l.; ditto, with rich ornate ornaments, from 2l. 15s. to 7l. 7s.; Fire-irons from 1s. 9d. the set to 4l. 4s. Sylvester and all other Patent Stoves, with radiating hearth plates. All which he is enabled to sell at these very reduced charges.

First—From the frequency and extent of his purchases; and Secondly—From those purchases being made exclusively for cash.

THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE FOR

SILVER.—THE REAL NICKEL SILVER introduced twenty years ago by WILLIAM S. BURTON, who PLATED by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co., is beyond all comparison the very best article next to sterling silver that can be employed as such, either usefully or ornamentally, as by no possible test can it be distinguished from real silver.

	Fiddle Pattern.	Thread or Brunswick Pattern.	King's Pattern.
Tea Spoons, per dozen ..	18s.	25s.	32s.
Dessert Forks	30s.	40s.	48s.
Dessert Spoons	20s.	42s.	48s.
Table Forks	40s.	50s.	60s.
Table Spoons	40s.	58s.	68s.

Tea and coffee sets, waiters, candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process.

CHEMICALLY PURE NICKEL NOT PLATED.

	Fiddle.	Thread.	King's.
Table Spoons and Forks, full size, per dozen ..	12s.	23s.	30s.
Dessert ditto and ditto ..	10s.	21s.	25s.
Tea ditto	5s.	11s.	12s.

CUTLERY WARRANTED.—The most

varied assortment of TABLE CUTLERY in the world, all warranted, is on SALE at WILLIAM S. BURTON'S, at prices that are remunerative only because of the largeness of the sales. 34-inch ivory handled table-knives, with high shoulders, 11s. per dozen; dessert forks to match, 10s.; if to balance, 1s. per dozen extra; carvers, 4s. per pair; larger sizes, from 14s. 6d. to 23s. per dozen; extra fine ivory, 32s.; if with silver ferrules, 37s. to 50s.; white bone table-knives, 7s. 6d. per dozen; dessert forks, 5s. 6d.; carvers, 2s. 6d. per pair; black horn table-knives, 7s. 4d. per dozen; dessert forks, 6s.; carvers, 2s. 6d.; black wood-handled table-knives and forks, 6s. per dozen; table steels, from 1s. each. The largest stock in existence of plated dessert-knives and forks, in cases and otherwise, and of the new plated set carvers. Also a large assortment of Razors, Penknives, Scissors, &c., of the best quality.

THE BEST SHOW of IRON BED-

STEADS in the KINGDOM is WILLIAM S. BURTON'S. He has TWO VERY LARGE ROOMS, which are devoted to the exclusive Show of Iron and Brass Bedsteads and Children's Cots, with appropriate Bedding and Mattresses. Common Iron Bedsteads, from 12s. 6d.; Folding Bedsteads from 12s. 6d.; Patent Iron Bedsteads, fitted with dovetail joints and patent sacking, from 21s.; and Cots, from 21s. each. Handsome ornamental Iron and Brass Bedsteads, in great variety, from 2l. 15s. to 13l. 13s.

GAS CHANDELIERS and BRACKETS.

The increased and increasing use of gas in private houses has induced WILLIAM S. BURTON to collect from the various manufacturers all that is new and choice in Brackets, Pendants, and Chandeliers, adapted to offices, passages, and dwelling-rooms, as well as to have some designed expressly for him; these are now ON SHOW in one of his TEN LARGE ROOMS, and present, for novelty, variety, and purity of taste, an unequalled assortment. They are marked in plain figures, at prices proportionate to those which have tended to make his Ironmongery Establishment the largest and most remarkable in the Kingdom.—viz. from 12s. 6d. (two light) to 16 guineas.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has TEN LARGE SHOW-ROOMS (all communicating) each of the Shop, devoted solely to the show of GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY (including cutlery, nickel silver, plated and japanned wares, iron and brass bedsteads), so arranged and classified that purchasers may easily and at once make their selections.

Catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street); Nos. 1 & 2, NEWMAN-STREET; and 4 & 5, PERRY'S-PLACE.

DEANE'S TABLE CUTLERY has for

more than 150 years received extensive and increasing public patronage. The stock, comprising ivory, bone, horn, and stag handles, stands unrivalled in extent and variety; the prices are the lowest, and the quality of the steel the very best. Deane's Monument razors and London-brake straps are preferred by the very best judges to any other. Their pen and pocket-knives, 6d. each and upwards, and ladies' scissors of every description, are all of the finest quality.—DEANE, DRAY, and Co. (opening to the Monument), London-bridge. Established A.D. 1700.

A NEW DISCOVERY IN TEETH.

MR. HOWARD, SURGEON-DENTIST.

62, FLEET STREET, has introduced an ENTIRELY NEW DESCRIPTION of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, fixed without springs, wires, or ligatures. They so perfectly resemble the natural teeth as not to be distinguished from the originals by the closest observer; they will never change colour or decay, and will be found superior to any teeth ever before used. This method does not require the extraction of roots, or any painful operation, and will support and preserve teeth that are loose, and is guaranteed to restore articulation and mastication. Decayed teeth rendered sound and useful in mastication.

52, FLEET-STREET.—At home from Ten till Five.

ALLSOPP'S PALE ALE. IN IMPERIAL QUARTS AND PINTS.

BOTTLED BY PARKER and TWINING, Beer Merchants, 54, FLEET-MALL.

"BARON LIEBIG ON ALLSOPP'S PALE ALE.
"The specimens of your Pale Ale sent to me afforded me another opportunity of confirming its valuable qualities. I am myself an admirer of this beverage, and my own experience enables me to recommend it, in accordance with the opinion of the most eminent English physicians, as a very agreeable and efficient tonic, and as a general beverage, both for the invalid and the robust."—Gießen, May 6.

We refer the learned to Baron Liebig, the temperate to Dr. Carpenter, invalids to the Medical Profession, and the robust to the best Clubs of London, for the merits of our stock of ALLSOPP'S ALE. The "Thirsty Soul" and "Constant Reader" of the Times we can also satisfy with our IMPERIAL MEASURE. Quarts, 8s.; Pints, 5s.; Half-pints (for luncheon), 3s. per dozen. Also in Casks of 18 gallons and upwards.

ADDRESS—PARKER and TWINING, Beer Merchants, 54, FLEET-MALL.

WILLIAM STEVENS, Sole Agent for supplying the Public with the celebrated unadulterated BOTTLED ALES, PORTER, and STOUT, brewed by the Metropolitan and Provincial Joint-Stock Brewery Company, submits the following scale of charges for the Company's goods in imperial measures:—

Ale or Stout.....	quarts 6 0	per doz.
Do. do.....	pints 3 6	"
Do. do.....	half pints 2 0	"

TERMS—CASH.

Country orders promptly attended to.—Money orders on the Strand office.

The same goods are constantly on draught at the Company's Wholesale and Retail Stores, 13, Upper Wellington-street, Strand, London, Where all orders must be sent to

WILLIAM STEVENS, Sole agent.

P.S.—A Single Bottle at the wholesale price, and families supplied with the same beer in casks.

EVERY MAN HIS OWN BREWER;

or, Practical Instructions by which any Man can Brew his own Beer, of a strength and flavour equal to the best London Porter, at 4d. per Gallon, Stout at 5d. ditto, and a variety of Ales at an expense of from 6d. to 10d. per Gallon. No skill or Brewing utensils required. Sent free on receipt of 24 postage stamps by Mr. Clarkson, many years practical private Brewer, No. 9, Avery-row, Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, London.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BANKING COMPANY.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1847.

The Court of Directors grant LETTERS OF CREDIT and BILLS at 30 days' sight upon the Company's Bank at Adelaide. The exchange on sums above £10 is now at a premium or charge of two per cent. Approved drafts on South Australia negotiated, and bills collected. Apply at the Company's Offices, 54, Old Broad-street, London. WILLIAM PURDY, Manager.

BANK OF DEPOSIT,

7, St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, London.

Established May, 1844.

Parties desirous of Investing Money are requested to examine the Plan of this Institution, by which a high rate of Interest may be obtained with perfect Security.

The Interest is payable in JANUARY and JULY, and for the convenience of parties residing at a distance, may be received at the Branch Offices, or paid through Country Bankers, without expense.

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.
Prospectuses free on application.

INDISPUTABLE LIFE POLICY COMPANY,

No. 72, Lombard-street, London.

TRUSTEES:
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M.P. Richard Spooner, Esq., M.P.
James Fuller Madox, Esq. William Wilberforce, Esq.

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SOLICITORS—Messrs. Atkins and Andrew.
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The Rev. James Shergold, Esq. Jas. Harrington Lowther, Esq.
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Captain Creed. Esq. George Y. Robson, Esq.
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SECRETARY—Charles Hoghton, Esq.
The Policies of this Company being indisputable (in terms of the Deed of Constitution duly registered) are TRANSFERABLE SECURITIES, their validity not being dependent, as in the case of ordinary Policies, upon the import of past, and perhaps forgotten circumstances, and office documents. Used as FAMILY PROVISIONS, they relieve the assured from all doubt and anxiety as to the future.

This is a purely MUTUAL SOCIETY, there being no proprietary body to whom any part of the profits belong, the whole being divisible among the insured themselves. The following shows the large and steady progressive amount of business the Company is now doing, and has done during the last five years:—

Sums Assured.	New Premiums.
1840.....	£108,647
1850.....	110,215
1851.....	127,488
1852.....	115,195
1853.....	129,063

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, Manager.

THE UNITED MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 54, CHANCING-CROSS.

Policies indisputable.
Assurances effected on the lives of persons about to reside in Australia on equitable terms.

THOMAS PRITCHARD, Resident Director.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

SCOTTISH EQUITABLE (MUTUAL) LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

EDINBURGH..... 28, St. Andrew-square.
LONDON..... 126, Bishopsgate-street.

TO SECURE THE ADVANTAGE OF THIS YEAR'S ENTRY, PROPOSALS MUST BE LODGED AT THE HEAD OFFICE, OR AT ANY OF THE SOCIETY'S AGENCIES, ON OR BEFORE 1ST MARCH.

POLICIES EFFECTED ON OR BEFORE 1ST MARCH, 1854, WILL RECEIVE SIX YEARS' ADDITIONS AT THE ALLOCATION AT 1ST MARCH, 1859.

ROBT. CHRISTIE, Manager.
WM. FINLAY, Secretary.
WM. COOK, Agent.

126, Bishopsgate-street, Feb. 1, 1854.

INSTITUTED 1831.

SCOTTISH EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Incorporated by Royal Charters, and Special Act of Parliament.

Head Office—Edinburgh, 28, St. Andrew-square.
Manager—Robert Christie, Esq.
London: 126, Bishopsgate-street, Cornhill.
Glasgow: 103, St. Vincent-street.

The Scottish Equitable Life Assurance Society is an Institution peculiarly adapted to afford provision for families. It was established in the year 1831, upon the principle of Mutual Contribution, the Surplus or Profit being wholly divisible among the Members; and the Additions which have been made to Policies at the Periodical Investigations of the Society afford satisfactory evidence of the prosperity of the Institution, and the great advantages derived by its Members. The following Examples exhibit the Addition already made:—

A Policy for 1000*l.*, opened in 1832, is now increased to 1508*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*

A Policy for 1000*l.*, opened in 1836, is now increased to 1407*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*

A Policy for 1000*l.*, opened in 1840, is now increased to 1297*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*

The Profits are ascertained and Divided Triennially amongst Policies of more than five years' duration. The Annual Revenue is upwards of 140,000*l.*

The Amount of Assurances in force is upwards of 4,000,000*l.* sterling.

The Amount paid to the Representatives of Deceased Members exceeds 300,000*l.* sterling.

The Total Amount of Vested Additions allocated to Policies exceeds 600,000*l.*

The Accumulated Fund is upwards of 700,000*l.*

Loans Granted to Members to the extent of the Office Value of their Policies.

Copies of the Annual Report, Forms of Proposal, and all Information may be had on application at any of the Society's Offices in Town or Country.

ROBT. CHRISTIE, Manager.
WM. FINLAY, Secretary.
WM. COOK, Agent.

126, Bishopsgate-street, London.

SOVEREIGN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

40, ST. JAMES'S-STREET, LONDON.

[ESTABLISHED 1845.]

TRUSTEES:
The Right Hon. the Earl Talbot
The Right Hon. the Lord de Mauley
Sir Claude Scott, Bart.
Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq., M.P.
Henry Pownall, Esq.

THIS OFFICE PRESENTS THE FOLLOWING ADVANTAGES:

The Security of a Large Paid-up Capital.
Very Moderate Rates for all ages, especially Young Lives.
No Charges whatever, except the Premium.

All Policies Indisputable.
Advances made to Assurers on Liberal Terms.

By the recent Bonus, four-fifths of the Premium paid was in many instances returned to the Policyholders. Thus:—On a Policy for £1000 effected in 1845, Premiums amounting to

£153 8*s.* 4*d.* had been paid, while £123 7*s.* was the Bonus added in 1853.

A WEEKLY SAVING OF FOURTEEN PENCE will secure to a person 25 years of age, the sum of £100 on his attaining the age of 55, OR AT DEATH, should it occur previously.

Rates are calculated for all ages, climates, and circumstances connected with Life Assurance.
Prospectuses, Forms, and every information can be obtained at the Office, 40, St. James's-street, London.

HENRY D. DAVENPORT, Secretary.

Money received on Deposit at Five per Cent.
Interest, payable half-yearly, on the 1st of April and 1st of July.

HOUSEHOLDERS' LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

15 and 16, ADAM-STREET, ADELPHI, LONDON.

Capital £250,000.

TRUSTEES:
The Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P.
J. Walbank Childers, Esq.
William Bulkely Glasse, Esq., Q.C.
William Ashton, Esq.
Charles Hulse, Esq.
Richard Griffiths Welford, Esq.
F. D. Bullock Webster, Esq.

The funds of the Company being advanced upon freehold and other Securities of a like nature, accompanied by an assurance on life, yield a high rate of interest, and afford a perfect security to its members.

Prospectuses and information can be had on application to R. HODSON, Secretary.

EDUCATION, COMBINED WITH

THE COMFORTS OF HOME.—There is now a vacancy for a pupil in the establishment of a widow-lady, who has had great experience in tuition, and who receives as BOARDERS SIX YOUNG LADIES, to be educated with her two daughters, under her immediate superintendence. References of the highest order.—Terms and other particulars may be had on application to Mrs. F. Lover, 6, Victoria-terrace, Bedford; or to Dr. Lovell, Winslow Hall, Bucks.

DISTRICT SCHOOLS of ART in connection with the Department of Science and Art, are now established in the following places. Open every evening, except Saturday, from 7 till 9-30. Entrance fee 2*s.* Admission 2*s.* and 3*s.* per month. The instruction comprises Practical Geometry and Perspective, Free hand and Mechanical Drawing, and Elementary Colour.

1. SPITALFIELDS, Crispin-street.
2. NORTH LONDON, High-street, Camden-town.
3. FINSBURY, William-street, Wilmington-square.
4. WESTMINSTER, Mechanics' Institute, St. Smith-st.
5. ST. THOMAS CHARTERHOUSE, Goswell-street.
6. ROTHERHITHE, Grammar School.

At 1 and 2 Schools there are Female Classes. Application for admission to be made at the Offices in each locality.

ART-UNION of LONDON.—(By Royal Charter.)

Every subscriber of one guinea will have an impression of a large plate of deep national and historical interest, "TILBURY FORT—WIND AGAINST TIDE," by J. F. Willmore, A.R.A., after C. Stanfield, R.A. The impressions will be ready on the 13th instant. Each prizeholder will be entitled to select for himself, as heretofore, a work of art from one of the public exhibitions.

GEORGE GODWIN, } Honorary
LEWIS POOCK, } Secretaries.
444, West Strand, 1st February, 1854.

FIVE GUINEAS.—Mr. WM. H. HALSE,

the Medical Galvanist, of 22, Brunswick-square, London, informs his friends that his FIVE GUINEA APPARATUS are now ready.—Send two postage stamps for his Pamphlet on Medical Galvanism.

Now ready, price 5*s.*

HISTORY of the SESSION 1852-3. A Parliamentary Retrospect. (Being a Reprint of the Articles by "A Stranger in Parliament," in the Leader.)

"Never before has the public had such an opportunity of seeing things as they actually are in Parliament, and of knowing the physiognomy and habits of that great assembly. In this respect, the book is worth files of all the Parliamentary reports of the last ten years. Add to this that, in point of style and literary execution, it is equal to the very best newspaper-writing of the day, while yet it is distinctly original in its spirit. Shrewdness, sense, and satire are its characteristics; but there are touches of something higher. The author does not write as a Whig, a Tory or a Radical, but sketches Parliament, as he himself says 'from a hitherto unoccupied point of view.'"

"What Thackeray is to social snobism in general, this author is to Parliamentary snobism; and we are much mistaken if the terror of his satires has not already had some wholesome effect even within the walls of St. Stephen's."—*Westminster Review*.

John Chapman, 142, Strand, and all Booksellers.

This day is published, fcp. 8vo, paper cover, price 1*s.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE POETRY OF HEINRICH HEINE. Translated by JOHN ACKERLOS.

London: John Chapman, 142, Strand.

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